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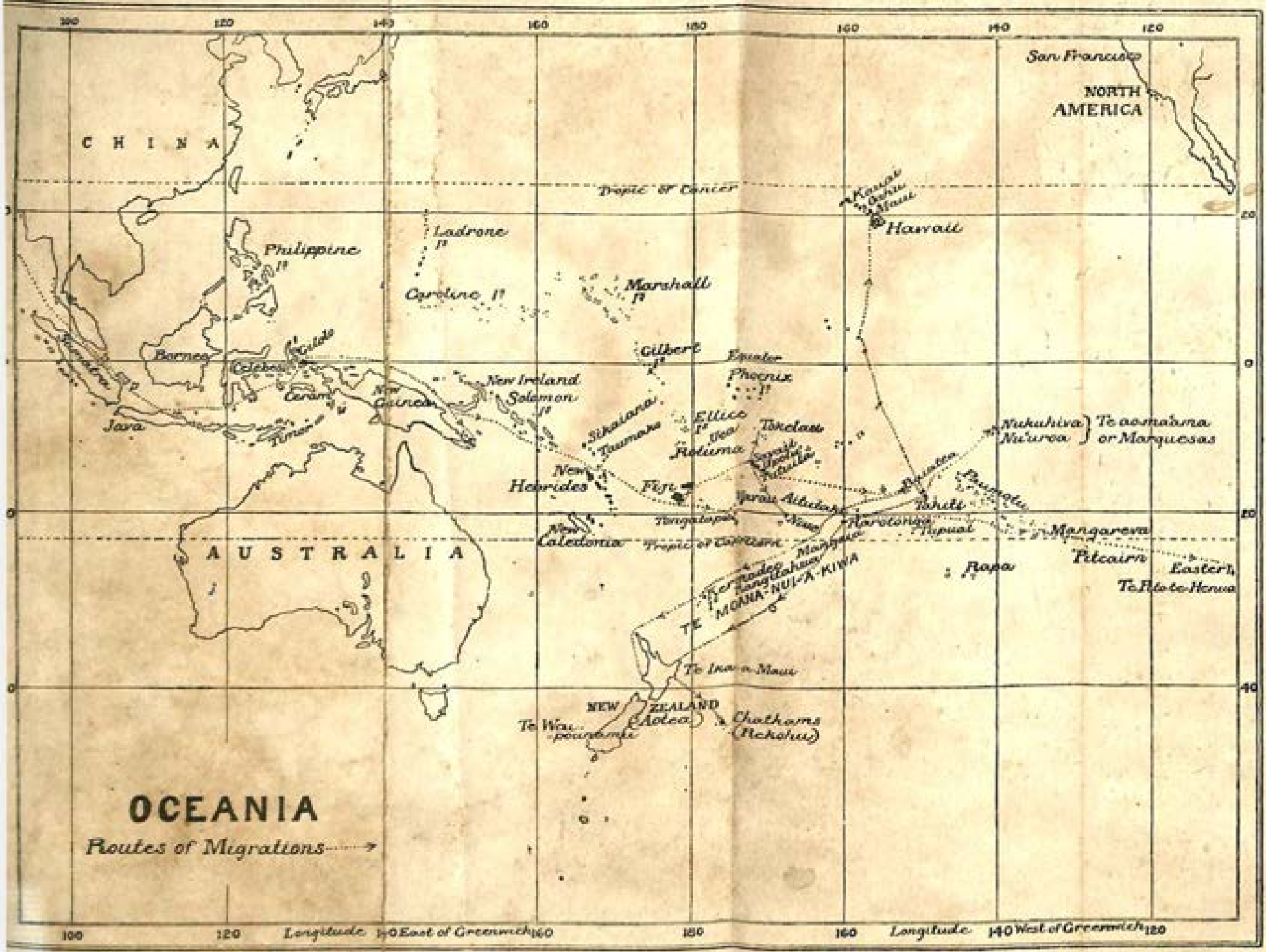
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Nukuhiva
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Mangareva
Tahiti
Pukapuka
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HAWAIKI:

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE MAORI;

WITH A SKETCH OF POLYNESIAN HISTORY.

By S. PERCY SMITH, F.R.G.S.,

Hon. Cor. Member Società d'Anthropologia d'Italia, President of the Polynesian Society, &c., &c., &c.

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He ahunga mai, he aponga mai, i Hawaiki;
Ka tupu, ka rito, ka toto, ka tahe, ka whakaikura.

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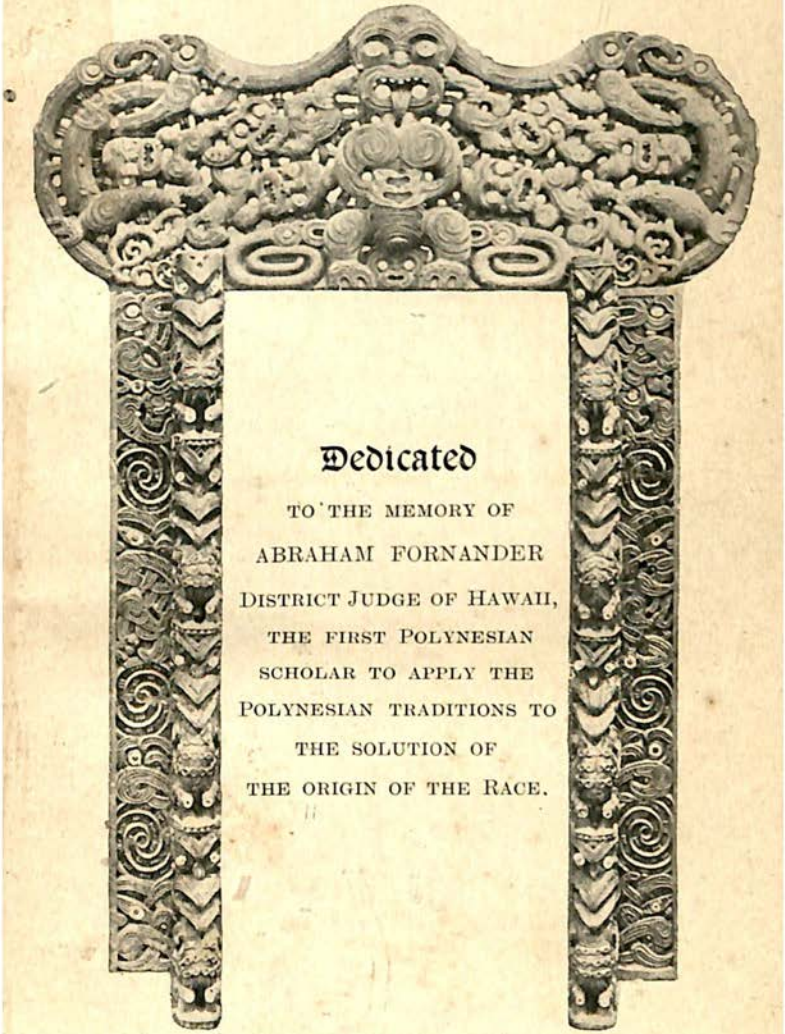

Dedicated

TO THE MEMORY OF

ABRAHAM FORNANDER

DISTRICT JUDGE OF HAWAII,

THE FIRST POLYNESIAN

SCHOLAR TO APPLY THE

POLYNESIAN TRADITIONS TO

THE SOLUTION OF

THE ORIGIN OF THE RACE.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THIS work was first published in the "Journal of the Polynesian Society," Vols. VII. and VIII., and subsequently issued in book form. The second edition was largely re-written, and the whole rearranged in such a manner as to form a sketch of the History of the Polynesian race—particularly the Maori-Rarotongan branch—down to the separation of the New Zealand Maoris from the original stock, when they migrated from Eastern Polynesia to New Zealand. Some further information has been included in this third edition. The work is treated from the point of view of the Traditions, and mainly from those of Rarotonga, a written copy of which was secured by the author in Rarotonga in 1897. These traditions were dictated by Te Ariki-tara-are, one of the last of the high priests of Rarotonga, and therefore are from the highest authority possible. A few of the Traditions themselves have been published—both in the native language and in English—in the above-named journal, but the bulk of them remain as yet untranslated.

The writer is fully aware that his theory as to the origin of the Polynesian race from India as expressed in this work is weak, through want of access to works on early India. But a friend of the writer's has accumulated a vast amount of valuable information bearing on the question from the Indian standpoint, which strongly confirms the theory herein suggested, and which information will, it is hoped, shortly be published.

In this third edition the generations are counted back from the year 1900, not 1850 as in the previous issues.

S. PERCY SMITH.

MATAI-MOANA,
NEW PLYMOUTH, N.Z.,
January, 1910.

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HAWAIKI.

CHAPTER I.

THE POLYNESIAN RACE AND ITS TRADITIONS.

THE question of the origin of the Maori people of New Zealand necessarily involves that of the whole Polynesian Race, for the Maoris are but one of a number of branches of that race, although the most important in point of numbers and in a few other respects, which we shall have occasion to refer to in the course of this narrative. The homogeneity of this race is a remarkable feature, scattered as it is over an extent of the earth's surface that equals in actual area—if it does not exceed—that occupied by any other race of like homogeneity. The area occupied by the race in the Pacific may be stated as about two million square miles; but the land area within this space is small, and varies from that of New Zealand with its one hundred thousand square miles, down to little atolls of barely a square mile in area. The number of the inhabitants of this vast space is

by no means proportionate to its size. The following table will illustrate this, the figures being approximate:—

New Zealand Maoris and half-castes ..	43,143
Hawaii—natives and half-whites ..	39,504
Samoa	38,000
Tahiti and French Oceania	25,000
Tonga Groups	18,000
Rarotonga and adjacent groups ..	8,000
Niuē	4,576
All other groups	5,000
	181,223

The figures above exclude the population of all islands where the people are more or less strongly mixed with neighbouring races, such as the Micronesian, Melanesian and Papuan, and the half-caste Fijians.

At the end of the eighteenth century estimates were made by Cook, Forster, and others, and the totals were 1,290,000 people inhabiting the same groups. On comparing these figures, the question arises: Have our efforts at civilizing this race been the blessing that we claim for it? *Aua hoki!*

From Nukuoro and Le-ua-niua islands in the far N.W. to Easter Island (Rapa-nui)* in the

*Rapa-nui is the most common name of Easter Island, but it is also known as Te Pito-te-henua, which means either "The navel of the land," or "The end of the land." To those who favour the idea of a sunken continent, the tops of whose mountains are now represented by the islands scattered over the Pacific, and especially in the Pau-motu

distant S.E.; from Hawaii in the extreme N.E. to New Zealand (Aotea-roa) in the S.W., we find one people, speaking dialects of one

Women of Tahiti Polynesian type.

group, of which Easter Island forms the S.E. extremity, this name—Te Pito-te-henua—"The end of the land," may suggest a confirmation of the theory. But, whilst the "sunken continent" idea has no doubt much to support it, it seems to the writer that everything proves the Polynesians to have arrived in the Pacific long after the existence of such a land.

language, having practically the same customs and beliefs, and bearing so great an affinity in physique, colour, and general appearance, that

A Moriori of the Chatham Isles, Polynesian type.

it is difficult to distinguish the inhabitants of one part from those of any other. And yet, to the close observer, there are differences distinguishable here and there, especially where the environment differs much. For instance: the

Moriori people of the Chatham Islands, in the extreme S.W. part of the Polynesian area, present some differences in physique from the

Iles photo.

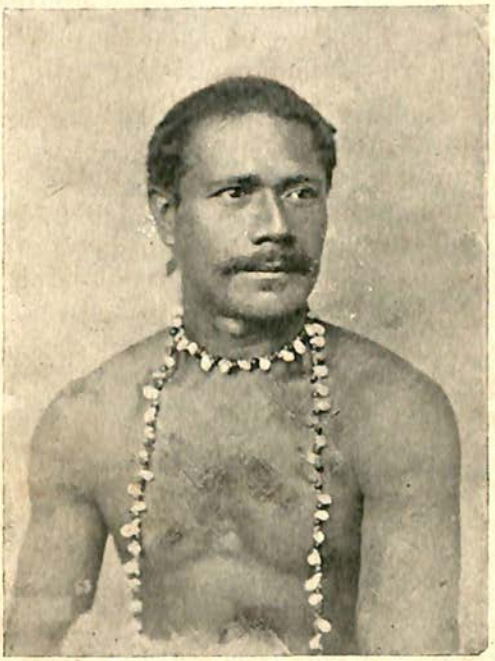
A Maori girl, Polynesian type.

Tahitians, who are, as a rule, taller, fairer, and better looking. In their happy isle, nature provides for most of their wants with very little

aid from themselves; the breadfruit, coconut, and banana grow and produce abundantly—almost spontaneously,—whilst fish is abundant and good. The heat of the sun is tempered by the perpetual shade in which the people live, making them fairer than the average members of the race. The Morioris, on the other hand, lived a hard strenuous life, without any vegetable food beyond fern root and a few indifferent fruits, whilst their island is more open to the sun. The products of the sea were their principal articles of diet, and to secure this they led a wandering life, camping for a time wherever food was most plentiful, and in their daily lives frequently exposed to boisterous weather. The exposed positions from which they obtained their food, the cliffs and rocks of the sea-shore, ever subject to strong saline winds, made the people weather-beaten and darker than the race generally. Sad to say, we must speak of the Moriori in the past tense, for there are not more than a dozen of the pure blood left out of the approximate number of 2,000 at the time their islands were conquered by the Maori of New Zealand in 1835-6.

Whilst the Polynesian race is thus homogeneous, there can be traced amongst them differences which are not due entirely to environment, though the latter has served to emphasize the divergence from the common type. These variations from the type show that the race, as we know it, is not pure, and that it

has been crossed by other races in the remote past. The fact that the variations in type are found amongst all branches of the race, denotes that the crossings with other races took

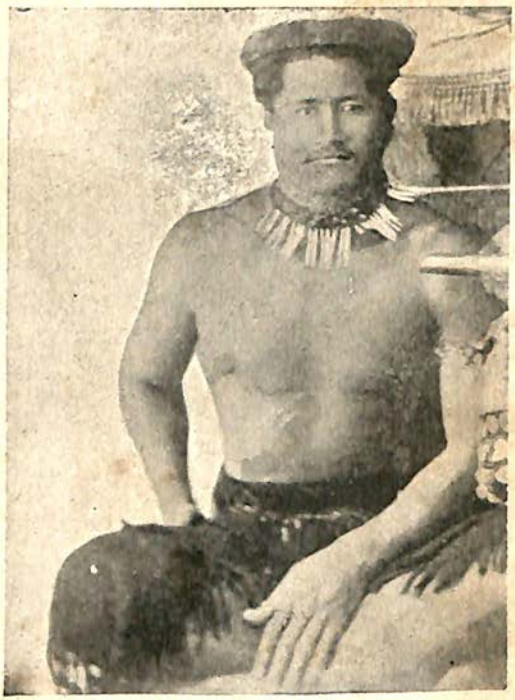


Burton Bros. photo.

A Samoan, Polynesian type.

place in remote antiquity. It is somewhat difficult at this time to say what the original type of the true Polynesian was; but it is probable that the handsome, tall, oval-faced, high browed, lithe, active, light brown, black

straight-haired, black or very dark-brown-eyed, cheerful, dignified individual so frequently met with, is the nearest to the true original Polynesian. This type predominates in some



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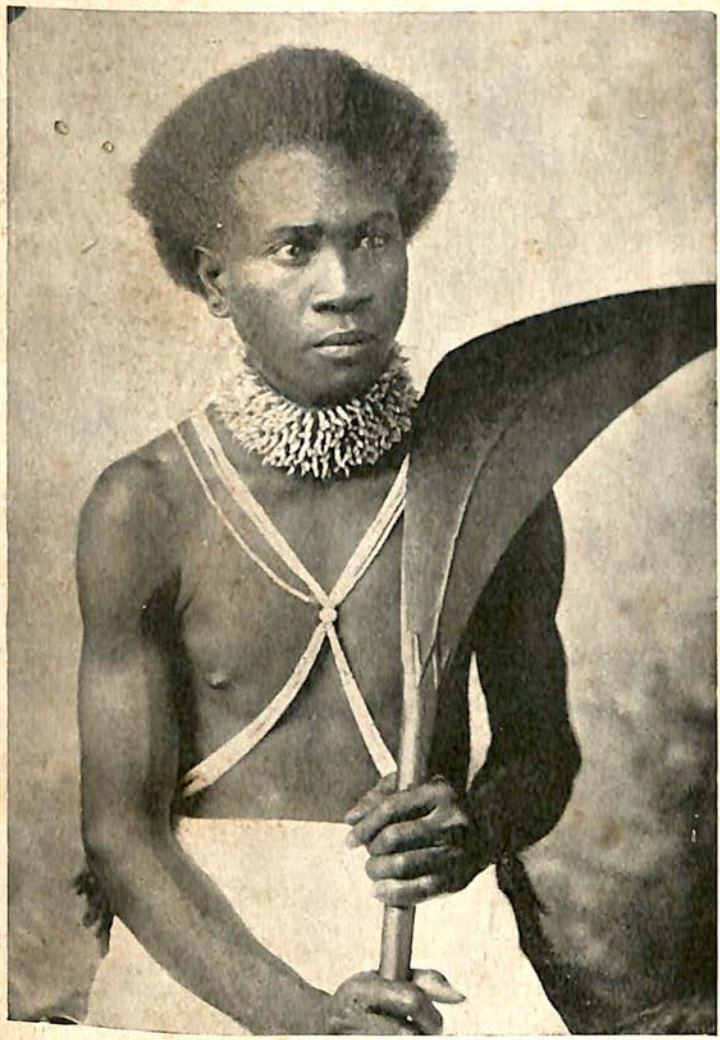
A Samoan, Polynesian type.

branches more than others, and perhaps Samoa contains a larger proportion of this character than any other island, but it is found everywhere—from Hawaii to New Zealand, from Samoa to Easter Island.



Burton Bros. photo.

A Solomon Islander, Melanesian type.

It is probable that nowhere is the true Polynesian type still in existence. When we come to consider their history we shall see that the race has been acted on by ethnic elements of many and diverse characters, which show in the people as we know them. It could not be otherwise, looking to the migrations of the race, and the various peoples they must have had more or less communication with in their long progress eastwards from the Fatherland. On their way to the East they must at one time have been in frequent contact with the Papuan and Negritto race of Indonesia, and subsequently with the less strongly marked Negritto people of the Melanesian Islands, besides, as we shall indicate, with some white race, all of which have left their marks on the people, in their physique, their customs and their traditions.

It is unfortunate that up to the present time, no comprehensive study of the craniology of the Polynesian race as a whole has been made. What has been done in this respect—a mere nibbling at the edges, as it were—bears out the mixed Papuan and Melanesian character of the Polynesians. But to satisfy science as to the origin of the people, something much more systematic is required.*

*When in Eastern Polynesia in 1897, I met a German Doctor (whose name has escaped me) who had been for ten years in various islands collecting skulls and other anthropological specimens, but I have never seen the result of his labours.

Failing the more exact craniological data we have to fall back on philology, manners and customs, physical appearances and traditions of the race, to determine their origin. In what follows we shall touch on these various aspects from time to time, but this account is mainly derived from the reasonable interpretation that may be placed on the traditions of the race—others more competent can deal with the question from the other aspects. And here, I would like to say, that in my humble opinion the European Ethnologist is frequently too apt to discredit tradition. It is an axiom that all tradition is based on fact—whilst the details may be wrong, the main stem is generally right. In this, local colouring is one of the chief things to guard against, and here the European Ethnologist is generally at fault for want of local knowledge—at any rate when he deals with Polynesian traditions. No one who has for many years been in the habit of collecting traditions from the natives themselves, in their own language, and as given by word of mouth, or written by themselves, can doubt the general authenticity of the matters communicated. But it is necessary to go to the right source to obtain reliable information, and even then the collector must understand what he is about or he will fail.

The men who really know the traditions of their race, look upon them as treasures which are not to be communicated to everybody. They

will not impart their knowledge except to those whom they know and respect, and then very frequently only under the condition that no use is to be made of them until the reciter has passed away. Much of the old history of the Polynesians was looked on as *tapu* (sacred) and its communication to those who could not share this feeling, or who would make improper use of it, would inevitably—in the belief of the old *tohungas* (priests)—bring down disaster on the heads of the reciters. It is never safe to question any statement made by the narrator, though of course any point not clear can be elucidated by questions. But never show any doubt of what is being told; worse than all never ridicule the most extravagant statements—(these can always be sifted afterward, and the residue of truth retained)—to do so, at once causes the narrator to draw in, and the opportunity may be lost for ever.

It has always been the special function of the priesthood, from the very earliest dates in Polynesian history, to keep the verbal record of the history and literature of the race, and as the office of priest (*tohunga, tahuna, tahua, kahuna, etc.*) was, in most branches of the race, hereditary, it was the duty of the father, and very often the grandfather, to educate their offspring in the tribal lore. This teaching was accompanied with many ceremonies, and *karakias*, or incantations, invocations, etc., in order to impress the pupil with the importance

of the matter taught, and as was thought, to impress it indelibly upon his mind. It was taught in special buildings called *whare-kura, whare-wananga,* or *whare-maire,* which have a strong affinity to our colleges. There was a special sanctity attached to many things taught; deviation from the accepted doctrines, or history, was supposed to bring on the offender the wrath of the gods who were ever present, watching to catch the people tripping. It is obvious from this, that traditions acquire a value they would otherwise not possess. The fear of the consequences arising out of false teaching acted as an ever present check on the imagination. There are many known instances where serious troubles have arisen through deviation from accepted teaching—due generally to separation of the people in islands or places without frequent communication. As an illustration of this may be mentioned the series of deaths, wars, migrations, etc., that took place in the time of a noted ancestor of Maoris, Rarotongans and Tahitians, named Whiro, who flourished about the eleventh century, which incident is known as the schemes of Te Aotea and Te Aouri in Tahitian history,* and is also known to Maori tradition in connection with Wharekura in the history of Whiro.

Notwithstanding the care with which traditions were kept, it is only natural that

*From Miss Teuira Henry, the Tahitian scholar.

innovations gradually crept into what was at one time the common property of the race. Doubtless many of the traditions still recited are of immense age. With division of the people into tribes (which there are reasons for thinking is a very ancient institution), migrations to different parts, and the final separation of some branches from the other, innovations and local colouring have gradually been introduced. But taken as a whole, and after making due allowance for the lapse of time, environment, change of language, etc., it will be found that the accordance of traditions collected from different branches of the race is remarkable.

It is difficult for a civilized people which habitually uses writing in recording events, to conceive of the powers of memory possessed by people who have nothing but the memory to trust to. Some few instances of this may be mentioned: A Maori and his wife dictated to Mr. Elsdon Best, over 400 songs, and could generally tell the names of the composers and the incidents alluded to in them. Another Maori of mature age dictated to the writer 164 songs, etc.—and these were so impressed on his memory, that the quotation of one line was sufficient to recall the whole of the song at once. Another Maori wrote for the Polynesian Society 110 songs, and doubtless he knows many more, but the effort of writing wearied him. Again, another Maori has written 11 volumes of MS. treating of the traditions, songs, customs, etc.,

of the Maori, and this, at a very advanced age, all of this matter having been retained in his mind, and included hundreds of proper names. Ten years ago the writer took down from the recital of an old Maori the genealogical descent of all the members of his tribe, involving the recollection of over 700 names, and going back for 34 generations. Each branch was followed out to the present day, and in most cases the reciter could supply the names of the husband or wife who did not come into the line of descent, and also say what tribe they came from and give something of their history. Efforts of memory of this character are impossible with us, and are not known of, or not considered by the generality of writers on traditions, which are hence set aside for the fanciful creations of their own brains, after the manner of the German philosopher who was able to evolve the idea of a camel out of his inner consciousness!

I have thought it necessary to say this much on the subject of traditions, for it will be mainly on them, and the inferences that may be drawn from them, that the principal reliance is placed in seeking the origin of the Maoris in the following narrative.

CHAPTER II.

GENEALOGICAL CONNECTIONS AND CHRONOLOGY.

And moreover, unless we can fix some approximate date to the various legends, they are of little value in this particular connection—they serve to show the ideology and beliefs of the race, but without dates they cannot form history. We are met at the outset with this difficulty: that the Polynesian has no idea of time in our sense of the word. All he can say with respect to any event is, that it occurred in so-and-so's time, and that it was after or before some other event. But luckily we have an approximate means of fixing dates in Polynesian History through the genealogical tables. It is probable that no race has more highly valued their pedigrees, or possessed so many—it was

considered to be an essential part of the education of everyone having any pretentions to chiefdom to be able to recite his pedigree for at least 20 generations, and to know the family alliances to remote degrees. The notion of kinship was carried to degrees of relationship very distant, according to our ideas, and it is quite common to hear one person referring to another as his elder or younger brother or sister, who is, according to our ideas only an eighth or a tenth cousin. In former times the genealogies were considered to be sacred and were used for what may be called religious purposes. Amongst some branches of the Maoris they were recited at marriages, at the naming of a child, and in cases of difficult birth, always accompanied by *karakias* or invocations. The old songs often contain genealogies, as did the *karakias*. A good example of a very lengthy genealogy embodied in a formal song or recitation is to be found in the "Song of Ku-alii" of Hawaii.

It is upon the genealogies we must rely for dates in the history of the race; and the first thing to determine in connection with them is the number of years to be assumed as the average length of a generation. Fornander in his "Polynesian Race," has adopted the European standard of 30 years;* but the

*Wherever Fornander's dates are quoted herein, they have been converted to the 25 years scale.

consensus of opinion of several Polynesian scholars who know the race well, is that 25 years is nearer the truth, for the Polynesians married early, and many women come into the genealogies, who as a rule, marry very early. It is this latter number, therefore, that will be adopted in fixing dates in what follows.

As a rule the Polynesian genealogies are reliable within certain limits and go very far back. I cannot at all agree with Mr. Basil Thompson* that they "do not carry us back for more than seven or eight generations, and beyond this limit we are apt to step into the regions of mythology." This is a very surprising statement to emanate from one who has passed some years amongst various branches of the race, *i.e.*, Tongans, and the half-caste Polynesians of Fiji. To those who have studied this question amongst various branches of the race, no proof is necessary as to the general accuracy—always within certain limits—of Polynesian genealogies; but as Mr. Thompson has—very rightly—acquired a good deal of fame by his writings, it is necessary to show that his estimate of the value of these genealogies is mistaken. At the same time, for the purpose I have in hand, some evidence is also requisite, in order to judge of the degree of reliability that may be placed on the dates to be used herein.

*See Journal Anthropological Institute, vol. xxxii., p. 83.

First may be mentioned, that the great migration to New Zealand took place at 21-22 generations back from the year 1900, or in the year 1350. This date is arrived at by taking the mean number contained in over 50 genealogical tables going back to those who came here in the fleet, all of which will agree to within 4 or 5 generations in number. Where many women come into the lines, they are naturally longer. This gives us a fairly well fixed date from which others may be adduced.

But the severest proofs that can be applied to these tables, is to compare those from different branches of the race showing descent from the same ancestor. The first attempt to apply this method will be found in Vol. II. of the "Journal of the Polynesian Society," where the question is fully dealt with. Here it will be only necessary to quote results. Maoris, Rarotongans, Tahitians, and Hawaiians had many ancestors in common. Amongst them were persons named Whiro, Hiro, Iro (according to the dialect) and Hua. The descent from these two persons is preserved by each branch of the race named, who moreover have had no communication with one another from a few years after the period of these two men until last century. Now the results of comparing the

genealogical tables from each branch down to 1900, are as follow:—

	generations.
Hawaii (from Hua)	25
Raiatea (Tahiti) (from Hiro or Whiro)	23
Rarotonga (from Iro or Whiro) ..	26
New Zealand (from Whiro and Hua) ..	26

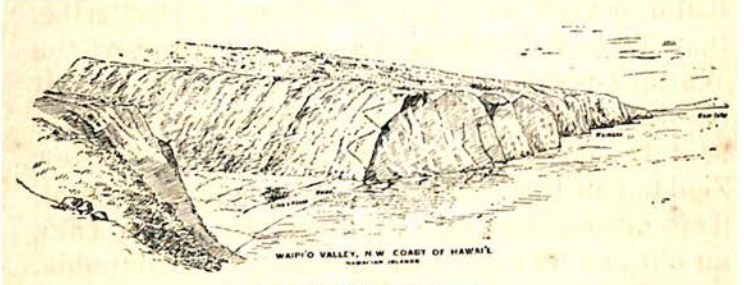
This conformity of record from four different sources shows that a considerable amount of agreement is to be found in the genealogical tables as preserved by different branches of the race, and clearly demonstrates their common ancestry. From the above figures we may—by allowing twenty-five years to a generation—arrive at an approximate date in Polynesian History, which can be utilized as a basis for others. We may therefore say that Whiro and his brother Hua flourished A.D. 1250 to 1275, and as will be seen later on, this is a very important date in the history of the race—it was during this period that Tangiia, the great ancestor of the Raro-tongans, flourished, and about 100 years afterwards the so-called fleet left those parts to settle in New Zealand.

It must now be shown how the principal lines of ancestry of the Polynesians join, and the agreement, or otherwise, must be pointed out.

Hawaii Line.	Maori Line.	Rarotonga Lines.		Tahitian Line.
				42 Ta'aroa-manahune
				Manu-tu-nu'u
				Te Ra'au-'a'ana
				Te Moana-rau
				Te Fa'a-nu'u
				37 Te Ra'i-mavete
				Nu'u
				To
				Momo'a
				Tafeta
		32 Ruatea, Koropanga-ki-aua (brothers)		32 'Oropa'a-nui-tauara'a
		Ono kura		Tu-Oropa'a-nui
		Nga-upoko-turua		Hia
		Nga-maru		Mara'a
		28 Kotuku-tea (*ct.*)	Kaukura	28 Tu-'Oropa'a-maeha'a
26 & 28 'Olopana = Lu'ukia	27 Tu-te-Koropanga = Rukutia	Moe-metua	Kaungaki	
	Anu (also Moe-tara-uri)	Moe-tara-uri = Akimano (*f*)	26 Tangiia	
	25-26 Whiro (the same as)	- Iro (*ct.* of Tangiia and Motoro)	Motoro	
			Uneuku-rakeiora	
			Unenku-te-aitu	
			22 Ruatapu (by Maori and Rarotonga lines)	

Note.—*ct.* means contemporary. The figures show generations from the year 1900.

Amongst the notable Hawaiian chiefs who, about the years 1100 to 1200, were constantly passing from the Northern Group to Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, was one named 'Olopana, whose wife was Lu'ukia.* 'Olopana lived in the beautiful valley of Waipi'o on the eastern shores of Hawaii. During some heavy floods, the cultivations in the valley were destroyed, which determined 'Olopana to seek a new home in the Southern Isles. He settled



Tu-te-Koropanga's home.

at Kahiki (Tahiti), at a place named Moa-ula-nui-akea, which Miss Henry identifies with Mou'a-ura-nui-atea, or the Tahitian mountain now called Tahara'a.† 'Olopana's residence in Tahiti would bring him into touch with the ancestors of the Maoris, if my theory referred to later on is good that they were at that time living in that island. It is probable, therefore, that the name of 'Olopana is to be found in

*Fornander, vol. ii., p. 49.

†Annual Report Hawaiian Historical Society, 1897. I do not feel sure that Moa and Mou'a are identical names, but the rest of the words clearly indicate the same locality.

Maori history. Now, 'Olopana's and his wife's names, if converted into Maori by known letter changes, would be Koropanga and Rukutia. As a matter of fact, we do find in Maori history the names of Tu-te-Koropanga, whose wife was Rukutia, and that they lived in Hawaiki, which, as will be pointed out, includes Tahiti and the adjacent groups. The Ngai-Tahu tribe of South New Zealand have some long stories about these people, and I ascertained from Tare Wetere te Kahu, a very well informed man of that tribe, that Tu-te-Koropanga was the ancestor of the Waitaha people of the South Island, a tribe that has long been extinct, and whose ancestors were said by my informant to have come to New Zealand in the "Matiti" canoe, before the fleet. This information was confirmed by Paora Taki, an old and learned man, formerly of Kaiapohia, but now dead. On first seeing these names in Fornander fifteen years ago, their probable identity with the Maori ancestors had struck me, but it was not until after five or six years of worrying my correspondents, all over New Zealand and the Pacific, that I finally obtained from the two old men named, the connection of these people with known lines of descent to the present day. Miss Henry has also furnished the probable connection with Tahitian lines, which is shown on the previous page.

With respect to the above table, 'Olopana and his wife Lu'ukia, lived either twenty-six or twenty-eight generations ago, according to

which of the Hawaiian lines is taken. That these people are identical with Tu-te-Koropanga and his wife Rukutia of Maori history must be taken as almost certain, for it is extremely improbable that two men of the same name should marry wives of the same name—and their period is the same. Moreover, both from Hawaiian and Maori story, Rukutia appears to have been a woman of advanced ideas. With the former people she is credited with having invented the female dress called *pau,* which the Hawaiians "make to this day, for no other reason than because the *pau* of Lu'ukia was of five thicknesses." In Maori history her name occurs in an ancient *karakia* used in tattooing the women, wherein the operator says, "Be you tattooed after the likeness of Rukutia." In another song it is said, "Gird thee with the dress (mat) of Rukutia"—perhaps a reference to the Hawaiian story. Again she is referred to as a poetess. That she was distinguished as a *danseuse,* the long story of the troubles between her and her first husband, Tama, will show.

According to my Maori informants, Tu-te-Koropanga's daughter was Anu-matao, and she was a *matua* to Whiro, which may mean an aunt as well as a mother. The other Maori accounts state that Whiro was the son of Moe-tarauri, as do the Rarotongan histories, which latter give his mother's name as Akimano, and this is confirmed by Tahitian history, where Hiro's

mother is shown to be a Fa'imano, a name which is identical with Akimano. The name in Maori would be Whakimano.

Whether Tu-te-Koropanga is identical with Tu-Oropa-'a-maeha'a (in Maori letters, Tu-Koropanga-mahanga) of the Tahitian line, there is more uncertainty; but they are shown to have flourished within the same, or the next, generation, and they both lived in Hawaiki by Maori account, in Tahiti by the Tahitian account —places which will be shown to be identical. The Hawaiian 'Olopana was of Southern extraction, though his father lived in Oahu. His grandfather Maweke was one of those Hawaiian chiefs who voyaged backwards and forwards from Hawaii to Tahiti.

We may possibly see another connection between Hawaiian and Maori ancestors of about this period in the name Pau-matua (Paumakua in Hawaiian). According to the genealogies published by Fornander, there were two very noted ancestors of this name whom he shows on different lines to have lived in the same generation, and a mean of six lines from their period down to the present shows that they flourished twenty-five generations ago. One of these men was a noted voyager, who had visited Kahiki (all the world outside Hawaii, but probably here intended for Tahiti and its neighbouring islands), and the other is said to

*Journal Polynesian Society, vol. ii., p. 26.

have come from Tahiti and settled in Hawaii. But both appear to have been descendants of people whose ancestors formerly lived in the southern groups. In visiting Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, Pau-makua must, if my theory is right, have come across the ancestors of the Maori. We find that one of the ancestors of Turi, of the Aotea canoe, was named Pau-matua, and—taking Turi to have lived twenty-two generations ago, or in 1350—that this Pau-matua flourished by one, twenty-five, or by other two accounts, twenty-six generations ago, or very nearly at the same date as the Hawaiian chief. According to Hawaiian history Pau-matua's son was Moena-i-mua (in Maori, Moenga-i-mua) and by Maori history it was Puha-i-mua. These two names are not exactly proof that the Hawaiian and Maori ancestors Pau-matua are the same, but there is a strong probability that they were the same individual.

A constant difficulty met with in the names of Polynesian people is, that they had several, or often changed them from the occurrence of a death or other circumstance. Hence the same ancestor is often known under different names by separate branches of the race, or even by different tribes of the same branch. It was an ancient custom amongst the Polynesians that chiefs visiting strange islands should take a wife from the people of such island. It was often the case also, that these wives and their

children remained with their own tribe. So that we have lines of people in different islands descending from one ancestor, who are not known to the records of other islands by the same name.

Taken altogether, we see that these genealogical lines from New Zealand, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Hawaii, all tend to prove one another, and that we may deduce from them a fairly accurate date for the period of Tangiia, viz.: the year 1250, which will agree with the period of Whiro; and these two men were contemporaries, as we shall see later on.

In order to show the data relied on for dates referred to in the history to follow, a reference must now be made to the large general table of Rarotonga ancestors at the end of this book, for on it depends the dates of events in Rarotongan and Polynesian history as herein deduced. The table, starting from the earliest traditional period when the people lived in Atia-te-varinga-nui, comes down to the time of the occupation of Rarotonga in 1250. We are now getting into the "misty past" and cannot expect such agreement in the lines as has been shown in those of later epochs, and of which other examples might be adduced.

We must first consider the agreement or otherwise of the two long lines shown in the table with one another and with a third to be found in vol. iv. of the "Journal of the Polynesian Society," page 129. The latter was

communicated to the late Rev. J. B. Stair, in 1842, by Matatia, of Rarotonga, and should therefore have a considerable value attached to it, considering its date. All these three lines commence at the same ancestor, Te Nga-taito-ariki, and come down to Tangiia, or to his contemporary, Iro (or Whiro, of Maori history). I shall have to point out directly that the Iro and Tangiia lines differ in places as to the order of names, and they also differ in the names themselves, so much so that they must be different lines of descent, not two editions of the same. It is within my own experience that a group of names is sometimes misplaced on a genealogy, though the total number may be correct, and this is what I think has occurred on the Iro line.

If we count the generations between Te Nga-taito-ariki and Tangiia by these three lines we get the following result:—

By the Tangiia line	..	66	generations	
„ Iro	„ ..	69	„	
„ Tangiia	„ ..	71	„	(By Matatia)

Giving double weight to the first Tangiia line above, we may take the mean as 68 generations back from Tangiia, or 94 from the present time to that of Te Nga-taito-ariki. By converting this into years, we arrive at a date very far back in history, or to the year 450 B.C.

The only other line of Rarotonga which may be compared with this, is that of the Tamarua

family, but it contains three groups of names on it which causes me to doubt whether it is not a cosmogony, or the three groups of names are different ones for three different persons, rather than a genealogy. It originates from Tu-te-rangi-marama, the nephew of Te Nga-taito-ariki, and between him and Tangiia are 119 names instead of the mean of 68 of the other lines. By taking out the three doubtful groups, there are 72 left, which does not differ so much from the mean. The full line will be found in the Tamarua history, so that Polynesian scholars may then judge of its value.*

There is not much chance of checking these lines from outside sources, but it may be well to see if any correspondence exists. Fornander quotes the line from the first man named in Hawaiian genealogies, Kumuhonua, who possibly may be identified with the Rarotonga Te Tumu (the "origin or root") who married Papa ("earth foundation") as being most reliable. From him to the present day are 93 generations, which as Te Tumu was the father of Te Nga-taito-ariki, is almost exactly the same as the Rarotongan. I apprehend, however, this *very* close agreement to be accidental— it might well have differed 7 or 8 generations, and yet the individuals might be the same. From Kumuhonua to Wakea, whose wife was Papa, there are 37 generations, and Wakea is possibly the

*This history has not yet been published, but it will appear later on in the "Journal of the Polynesian Society."

Atea shown on Rarotongan lines as the brother of Te Nga-taito-ariki; if so, there is a discrepancy of 37 generations.

If the Marquesan Atea is the same as the Rarotongan, then we get greater discrepancies still. Mr. Lawson gives the number from Atea to the present day as 74 generations; Mr. Christian as 123, and 140; and Commodore Porter as 88. Commodore Porter spent several months in the Marquesas in 1813, in command of an American squadron, and learnt a good deal about the natives. It will not be too much to add two generations to his number, which will make the period of Atea 92 generations back from 1900 as against the 94 of Rarotongan, a difference not too great to allow of their being the same person. But the Marquesan genealogies in their earlier parts contain the names of islands,* and otherwise do not seem reliable. There is nothing but the name, moreover, to connect this Atea with that of Rarotonga.†

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*It is of course possible that names of islands might have been borne by their ancestors, of which other illustrations might be given; but the order in which they come, causes me to be doubtful of them.

†Since the above was in type, information has come to hand in reference to Atea, the ancestor of the Aitutaki islanders, who flourished 64 generations ago; and this Atea I take to be identical with the Marquesan ancestor, of 74 generations ago, who did not live in the ancient Hawaiki, but in one of the stopping places in Indonesia—Papa-nui, referred to later on. He cannot, therefore, be identical with the original Atea, but is a more modern individual.

There is one argument against the Marquesan Atea being the same individual as the Rarotongan Atea, which has some weight attached to it. It is said, as we shall see later on, when we come to consider the "logs" of the migrations, that the Marquesan Atea did not live in the ancestral fatherland, but at Papa-nui, which was the fourth stage in their travels; and as his place on the Marquesan genealogies is 74 generations back from the present day, this would bring us to the year A.D. 50, or about 100 years after the period which is deduced from the Rarotongan tables as that at which the migrations arrived at Hawaiki, or Java. Papa-nui, according to the Marquesan "log," is certainly in Indonesia, and the period of Atea, *i.e.* A.D. 50, is that in which all evidence agrees in showing the Polynesians to have been living in those parts. Atea, is not nearly the first name shown on the Marquesan tables. So the balance of evidence is that he is not identical with Rarotongan Atea, nor with Hawaiian Wakea.

The Moriori genealogies go back further apparently than any others. We find on them the name of Tu-te-rangi-marama, the great Rarotongan ancestor, and he lived, according to the Morioris, 105 generations ago, as against Rarotongan 91. Again, it is not certain if this is the same man, but he is one of the few of whom anything is said in Moriori genealogy; he is accredited with inventing a new kind of mat or garment, which is remarkable, when

nothing is noted of many born before and after him. We shall see later on that the Rarotongan ancestor of the same name introduced many innovations.

The Maori tables are not reliable beyond say 40 or 50 generations, and therefore admit of only partial comparison with the old Rarotongan ones.

The Samoan tables, earlier than about 40 generations, are cosmogonies rather than genealogies; the longest I have seen is 55 generations or ages.

The Tongan tables appear to go back only 35 generations, or to just before the island of Tonga was colonized from Samoa or Fiji. This, however, was not the first occupation of that island.

No Tahitian tables are at present available for a greater length than 40 generations. So far as they go, they compare fairly well with Hawaiian and Maori.

The Rotuma tables go back for 106 generations, but contain only perhaps one name identical with Rarotongan ancestors, and he is too far out of place to be the same. The whole of the names indicate a Samoan origin, so possibly this people entered the Pacific as part of the same migration. Rotuma is just on the route the migration must have followed.

Easter Island lines go back for twenty-three generations by one line, twenty-seven by another (A. Lesson) and appear to be all local, *i.e.*, have

lived on that island. Thompson gives the number as fifty-seven from Hotu-matua, who came there "from the east" with his large canoes—from Marae-toehau, and named Easter Island, Te Pito-te-henua. This "coming from the east" is another mystery of this celebrated island, which, together with its enormous statues and incised inscriptions on wooden tablets,

Easter Island inscription.

renders it one of the most interesting places occupied by the Polynesian race.

The Mangareva Island tables go back for sixty-six generations, but no names are given by A. Lesson in his "Iles Mangareva."

There is thus not much help to be derived from these various genealogies; our main dependence must be placed on those of Rarotonga, which we will now proceed to further consider.

The next period on the Rarotongan lines after Tu-te-rangi-marama, and one of very great importance, that requires fixing, is that of the noted ancestor Tu-tarangi,* in whose time the people first began their restless wanderings that a few generations after led them all over the Pacific, after having been located for some generations in the Fiji group and those parts. Tu-tarangi is shown on two lines, but there is a great discrepancy between them—as much as eleven generations. The line ending in Iro was supplied by Te Aia, who, as a historian, cannot claim the weight that the compiler of the other line has, which ends in Tangiia. This latter was Te-Ariki-tara-are, one of the last high priests of Rarotonga under the old *régime,* and therefore may be considered as *the* authority on such a subject. We have also a possible means of checking this line thus: If reference be made to the line which comes through Tangiia's uncle, Pou-tea, it will be seen that it begins with Tu, whose son was Tu-tavake. Now, in the times of Tu-tarangi there lived a man named Tu-tavake, as related by the traditions, and it will be noticed that in the table he is shown to be only one generation after Tu-tarangi, or a difference of one generation in the thirty-one that separates Tu-tarangi from Tangiia. There are no means of ascertaining if the Tu-tavake on both lines

*Tu-tarangi (or Tu-talangi) is known to the Niue islanders as a deified ancestor, but they have no genealogy from him.

are identical, but they both lived in Fiji, and the inference is that they are the same. Assuming that this is so, then the period of Tu-tarangi may be fixed at about the year A.D. 450.

Passing downwards on the line from Tu-tarangi, at the fiftieth generation from 1900, we come to the name of Ui-te-rangiora. Unfortunately we have no means of checking the period of this man, but he was perhaps the most distinguished and daring navigator of the Polynesian race, as will be seen when we come to deal with him. According to the table, he lived about the year 650.

Another check on this long line may be shown as follows: according to the table at the end hereof, we shall find the Rarotongan ancestors Taaki and Karii (in Maori: Tawhaki and Karihi) to be brothers who flourished forty-eight generations ago. Turning to the table published in the "Journal of the Polynesian Society" vol. vii., p. 40, we there find these two brothers, according to Maori account, to have lived fifty-one generations ago. With respect to this Maori table, the compiler Mr. Hare Hongi, says he is prepared to uphold its accuracy against all comers. Another line from a quite independent Maori source gives forty-nine generations as the period of Tawhaki. The difference of three generations is not too much as between Maori and Rarotongan history. On

Mr. Hongi's table will also be found the following names in the order given: Ru-tapatapa-awha, Ueuenuku, Ueuerangi. Now the same names are shown in the same order on the general table of Rarotonga ancestors at the end of this work, but very far back in time, which bears out what has been said to the effect that the names given on this particular Rarotongan line (Iro's) are misplaced.

Continuing down this same line from Tu-tarangi, at forty generations ago, will be found the name of Kati-ongia, which is one of the very few that can be placed in Samoan genealogies. According to Mr. Steubel, there was an ancestor of Samoa of the name of 'Ati-ongie (which, allowing for the difference of dialects, is exactly the same as Kati-ongia), who flourished, by one line, twenty-seven, by another thirty-two generations ago. These differences are too great to allow of the persons named being the same, though one may have been named after the other. The father's and son's names are also different: but they both lived in Samoa.

Again continuing our downward scrutiny of the Tu-tarangi line, at thirty-eight generations ago, we find the name of Atonga, who lived in Kuporu (Upolu), and in his time was built the celebrated canoe named Manu-ka-tere, which I shall have to refer to as being known to the Tahitians. In the times of Atonga also lived some of the Rata family known to Maori history. Here we have an independent check on the

period of Atonga, for a reference to the "Journal of the Polynesian Society" (vol. iv., p. 129) will show that Rata-vare (known also by that name to the Maoris), who "owned the forest in which the canoe was made," lived eleven generations before Tangiia, or thirty-seven generations ago, which differs only one generation from the period assigned to his contemporary Atonga, on the line we are considering. The best Maori genealogy I have from Rata makes him to have flourished thirty-three generations ago, but I feel sure there have been several people of the name of Rata, which could easily be proved, and the deeds of this one have been confused with those of others, through causes which will be suggested in the next subject dealt with.

Taken altogether, we thus see that there is a fair amount of agreement amongst these tables, sufficient I think to justify us in assigning approximate dates to a number of important epochs in Polynesian history, which are given at the end of this volume. As we proceed, it will be seen how the dates fit into the traditions derived from various sources.

Having shown the data relied on to fix the dates in Polynesian history, the geographical evidence as to their whence, deduced from the traditions will now be adduced.

CHAPTER III.

NAMES OF THE TRADITIONAL FATHERLAND.

Hawaiki.

With all branches of the race are to be found names of places, retained in the traditions, that refer to ancient dwelling places which were occupied by the people in the remote past—indeed the number of such names is very great, but only a few, comparatively speaking, can now be identified with certainty. Of these names Hawaiki—the Maori form of the word—is the principal, and is known to nearly every branch of the race, though it varies in form from island to island according to the changes that have taken place in the language since the dispersion. The universality of this name points to the fact that it is extremely ancient and that it was under that form the Fatherland was originally known. With many branches, it has now become synonymous with "Spirit-land": the place to which the spirits of the dead pass as their final

resting-place. In some parts it is said to be the "under world"; that is, beneath the present world of life. But here, I think, a confusion of terms has arisen in the use of the word *raro, lalo, 'a'o* which means below, but also means the west with all Central Polynesians. The very nature of the beliefs of the race as to the path of the spirit to its final home, encourages this confusion between the two meanings of the word. In all cases the spirit, whilst always passing to the westward, is said to go downwards, *i.e.*, to dive into the sea, and then pass along to the sunset. It is in this manner that Hawaiki has come to be used for the place of departed spirits located underneath the earth. This latter meaning has been so firmly established in the minds of some collectors of traditions, that its original meaning has been by them overlooked; notably in the case of the late Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, to whom all Polynesian scholars owe a great debt of gratitude for his exertions in preserving the traditions of the race.

The universal belief in the passing of the spirits of the dead to the west, is to my mind a complete answer to those who hold that the Polynesian migrations were from the east. It is an essential part of Polynesian belief that the spirits rejoin those of the ancient dead and there dwell in a land of beauty and plenty, where the gods supply every want, and with whom communication is constant. The Polynesians would

not locate this Paradise in the west, if their ancestral home was in the east. Whilst this appears to me unquestionable, it is undeniable that apparent traces of Polynesian influences are to be found on the coasts of America; but these, I hold, are due to expeditions that have sailed from Polynesia to the east, where some, probably most, of them settled and became absorbed in the races they found there. The traditional evidence of this contact with America is exceedingly meagre, but the discovery of Polynesian remains in several parts of South America,* on the coast of Alaska, and in Southern California, the strong probability that Alaskan ornamentation owes much to this influence, seem to prove a former connection.

In the present state of our knowledge of the ability of the Polynesians as navigators—about which we shall learn something further on—it is useless for some writers to insist that the prevalence of the S.E. trade winds would form a bar to voyages made from Central Polynesia to the American coast. The number of easterly voyages on record from various parts and under all sorts of weather conditions is so large, that we must conclude these able navigators paid little attention to the trade wind if a sufficient object required them to face it.

*The latest reference to this subject that I have seen is in a note to be found in Vol. xi., p. 49 Journal of the Polynesian Society.

Naturalists do not seem to have finally decided as to the original home of the *kumara,* or sweet potato (*Batatas*), but the evidence gathered by De Candolle seems to show that Central America is the part where it grows spontaneously, and therefore must be its native habitat. It is possible we may see in the following quotation from an ancient Maori chant, a reference to America in the land where the *kumara* grows wild:—

"Kō Hawaiki te whenua, e tupu noa mai te kumara."
"Hawaiki is the land where the *kumara* grows spontaneously."

It is said in the above that "Hawaiki is the land"; but we need not be mislead by this; for, there is no doubt this name had become a synonym for all lands outside New Zealand not long after the settlement of the people here. If we could, however, find a country—say in Indonesia or that neighbourhood—where the *kumara* grows wild, it would with more probability be the Hawaiki referred to in the chant.

The Maori account of the origin of the *kumara* is briefly this: It is the offspring of Pani-tinaku, a woman, who is said to have been the wife of Rongo-maui, also called Rongo-marae-roa, Rongo-ma-tane, and Rongo-a-tau. Pani is said to have been the person who gave the food to Hawaiki; the food was the *kumara*; hence the name of Hawaiki, meaning plentiful

food.* But the *kumara* appears to have been in charge of Whanui, which is a name for the star Vega, but quite possibly is also a territorial designation. It is also said that the root was stolen by Rongo-maui from Whanui. Another story is to the effect that Pani and her husband Tiki visited an island where the people had no *kumara*, and finding that food was scarce, he sent back his wife to another country called Tawai to fetch some for the people with whom he was staying. Tawai, here, may be the N.W. island of the Hawaiian group, now called Kauai, which until the last 100 years was called Tauai; but from the archaic nature of the tradition, I am inclined to think it is more ancient than the settlement of Kauai island. Rongo-māui combines the names of one of the great quartette of Polynesian gods—Rongo, with that of Māui, the greatest of all Polynesian heroes, often wrongly called a god, a claim to which he can be admitted only in the sense of being a deified ancestor. It is this Rongo (*i.e.* Rongo-māui) that is probably meant when he is said to be the god, or patron of all matters connected with cultivation. The attributes of Rongo to be found in the traditions of branches of the race outside New Zealand preclude the idea that his ferocious man-eating and war-like nature as therein depicted, can ever have been represented in New Zealand by the god of peace and agriculture. Moreover it

*Hamiora Pio's collection of Maori traditions, MSS. with the Polynesian Society.

is suggested as a matter worthy of further investigation by those who have the time and the knowledge, whether Māui the navigator, the "fisher up of lands," is not in reality this Rongo-māui, and not the hero of the origin of fire, who also thrashed the sun—that daring, impish, cheeky demon, so much appreciated by Polynesians. The Rarotongan account of Māui lends considerable weight to the idea that there was a navigator in ancient times named Māui, who visited some country towards the sunrise named Uperu (U-Peru). It may be altogether a too fanciful idea, to suppose that the above name is intended for Peru, for we do not know how old the name of the South American State is, and indeed it is said that Peru is a Spanish name; but the *kumara* is said to grow wild in Central America, and the Quichua name of the root is *umar*. Māui or Rongo-Māui may have been the benefactor of his race by introducing the *kumara* to the knowledge of the Polynesians.

But to return to the westward flight of the spirit after death. At first sight it might be said that the Maori belief is contrary to that of other branches of the race, inasmuch as the spirits do not go to the west. But they go to the north-west—to Cape Reinga near the North Cape of New Zealand. The explanation of this is simple. Starting from Central Eastern Polynesia, as the ancestors of the Maoris did when they colonised New Zealand, and having as they had very

correct notions of orientation,* they would know full well that their S.W. course to New Zealand must necessitate the adoption of a different direction for Hawaiki—the spirit land—from that they held in Central Polynesia. And hence the spirits gather at Cape Reinga, as being the nearest point to the old "spirits' road," by which their ancestors' spirits went back to the spirit land. Colonel Collins in his "History of New South Wales" (published at the end of the 18th century) gives a sketch map of New Zealand drawn from information supplied by Maoris, who in 1793 were taken to Norfolk Island to teach the convicts how to dress flax. On this map is drawn the "spirits' road" which follows the ranges from the south of New Zealand to Te Reinga, near the North Cape. Many stories have the Maoris of the doings of the spirits on their way to the sacred Pohutukawa tree growing at Te Reinga, from which the spirits dropped down into the chasm that led under the sea to spirit land.

In Samoa we find the same ideas: the spirits travelled from the east by the mountain back-

*A very striking illustration of the powers of the Polynesians in respect to direction is furnished by Captain Cook, who, on his first voyage took from Tahiti a native priest named Tupaea, with the intention of letting him see the wonders of the world. Cook states that after many months—even after having circumnavigated New Zealand and passed up the eastern shores of Australia—if Tupaea was asked to point out the direction of Tahiti, he could always do so correctly.

bone (*tuasivi*) of the islands to the extreme western point of the group, where, at Fale-lupo, they dived into the sea on their way to spirit-land—in their case named Pulotu.

It was the same at Rarotonga, and Mangaia Islands; the spirits passed to the west, and there "jumped off" from the Pua tree and dived beneath the ocean on their way to Avaiki, or spirit-land, many instances of which will be found in the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill's works.

At the Hawaiian Group the spirits passed to the N.N. West, finally "jumping off" at the Leina-Kauhane at the west end of Oahu Island near the point called Ka Lae-o-Kaena.*

The Morioris of the Chatham Islands held a similar belief. In their case, the spirits left the N.W. point of the island at Te Raki Point on their way to the general gathering place with their ancestors at Hawaiki.

At the west end of Vanua-lava, the largest of the Fiji Islands, is a *balawa* tree (Pandanus) where the spirits depart for the ancestral home by passing into the sea. It will be shown later, how much the Fiji group has been connected with the Polynesian race, though the present inhabitants are a cross between that race and the Melanesian.

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*Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. xi., p. 192:—Leina-Kauhane is identical in meaning with the Maori Reinga-Wairua, and both mean the "Jumping off place of the Spirits"—*Kauhane* being equivalent to *Wairua,* or spirit.

The natives of Mangareva Island, situated near the extreme S.E. end of the extensive Pau-motu group, and who are pure Polynesians, call the place of departed spirits Avaiki, and Tregear's dictionary of that dialect also states: —"Name of a place often mentioned in the ancient songs of the natives." But I cannot ascertain if the spirits were supposed to go to the west.

Although the present inhabitants of South-East New Guinea are not pure Polynesians, there has no doubt in ancient times been an infusion of that blood into the people, together with some of their beliefs. Hence we find that the spirits after death went to the west, to Lavau, a name which I hope to show is as ancient as Hawaiki.

The above examples are taken from the principal homes of the race, and they all illustrate the one common idea that the spirit passes to the west to the ancestral home of the people. If enquiries were instituted in the other islands inhabited by the Polynesians, I have no doubt we should find traces of the same belief. Numbers of illustrations might be given from the ancient poetry of the Maoris of their belief in the return of the spirit to Hawaiki, the first home of their ancestors. Enough, however, has been said, to prove the belief of the race that their ancestral home was in the far west, and

that Hawaiki was, if not the principal, at any rate one of its chief names.

At this date, and after so many people have studied the traditions of the Polynesian people, it would seem superfluous to adduce any argument in favour of the western origin of the race. But I notice that an Australian gentleman of scientific acquirements, has lately resuscitated the idea of an eastern origin. To those, like myself, who have studied the race, its language, manners and customs, and above all, its traditions, for over forty years, this idea cannot be admitted as valid. Dr. Lang of Sydney, was the first, I think, to originate this theory; but he based it on such ridiculous arguments, that no one knowing anything of the race could treat his work seriously.

With laudable pride and affection, with a strong belief in the sacredness, the beauty, the prolificness of the Father-land, the Polynesians have carried this great name Hawaiki in their wanderings, and applied it to many of their later homes. We thus have the following islands and places, etc., named in memory of it, or where a knowledge of it exists:—

Jawa, the Bugis name of the Moluccas (J. R. Logan).

Java, (Hawa)—see later on in reference to this.

Sava-i, a place in the Island of Seran, Ceran, Celam, or Ceram, Indonesia.

Hawaiki and Kowaiki, at the west end of New Guinea (Dr. Carroll).

Savai'i, the principal island of the Samoan group.

Havai'i, an ancient name of Ra'iatea, Society group.

Havai'i, the original home or Fatherland of the Tahitians.

Havaiki, an ancient name of one of the Paumotu group (? Fakalava).

Avaiki-raro, the whole of the Fiji, Samoan, and Tonga groups, according to Rarotongan traditions.

Avaiki-runga, the Society, Tahiti and neighbouring groups, according to Rarotongan traditions.

Havaiki, old name of Tahiti, according to the Pau-motu islanders. See J.P.S., vol. vii., p. 109.

Avaiki, mentioned in Mangareva traditions.

Savaiki, a place known to the Tongareva Islanders.

Avaiki, a place known to the Aitutaki Islanders.

Avaiki-tautau, the ancient Rarotongan name (besides others) for New Zealand.

Havaiki, a place known to Marquesan traditions.

Havaiki, a place known to Easter Island traditions.

Hawaiki, a place known to Moriori traditions, and a place so named on their island (Chatham Island).

Hawai'i, the name of the largest of the Sandwich Islands.

Havaiki, a place on Niuē Island.

Besides the above there are several places in New Zealand called Hawaiki; amongst others those where the altars were set up by the crew of the Tainui, at Kawhia,* and by the crew of the Arawa at Maketu, on their first arrival in the country. I do not include in the above list Haabai Island of the Tonga Group, for the Rev. Mr. Moultan, of Tonga—the best authority—does not think it has any connection with the name. It is possible that Ava, the kingdom of that name in the Malayan peninsula, may be connected with Hawa-iki, but we want to know first what language the name belongs to. And besides all this we have probably in Sindhava, an ancient name of India, a further and possibly original mention of this name (in its last two syllables), a question treated of *infra*.

In Maori legends, it is clear that even this most ancient name of Hawaiki was applied to more than one place, or home of the people, and that their first home had several qualifying epithets applied to it; for we have Hawaiki-nui (the great Hawaiki), Hawaiki-atea, the meaning

*The first *kumaras*, brought in Tainui canoes, were also planted at Hawaiki.

of which I apprehend to be Hawaiki-the-happy (atea enters as a descriptive word into several of the ancient names, as Wawau-atea, etc.), Hawaiki-roa is another variant of the name, meaning "the long, or extensive Hawaiki."

In some of these epithets of the ancient Father-land, it is clear to me that a continent rather than an island is referred to, and this is the description given to me of Hawaiki-nui, by Tāre Watere Te Kahu, a very learned member of the Ngai-Tahu tribe, a people that have retained up to fifty years ago probably more of the ancient knowledge of the Maoris than any other. "Hawaiki-nui was a mainland (*tua-whenua*) with vast plains on the side towards the sea and a high range of snowy mountains on the inland side; through this country ran the river Tohinga." The Deluge stories of the Maoris are connected with the river Tohinga, showing how ancient Hawaiki is. The following names of mountains are also given by the Maoris as being situated in Hawaiki:—Apaapa-te-rangi, Tipua-o-te-rangi, Tawhito-o-te-rangi, Tawhiti-nui, and Hikurangi. These mountains are mentioned in another legend* referring to the Father-land in which it is named Te Paparoa-i-Hawaiki, or the "Great extending Hawaiki," again indicating a continent. Here —says the tradition—"was the growth or origin of man, and they spread from there, spreading

*Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. 9, p. 218.

from that Paparoa-i-Hawaiki, spreading to the islands of the great ocean and dwelling there." Hikurangi, one of the mountains mentioned above, is also connected with the Deluge legends, and its name has been applied by the race to several other mountains in their later homes, *e.g.*, Tahiti, Rarotonga, New Zealand, etc. Hawaiki-atua is another name for the Father-land—Hawaiki-of-the-gods—where the gods originated from Rangi and Papa—the Sky father and Earth mother, and where is "the meeting place of gods and men," as we shall see later on—where spirits foregathered with their deified ancestors.

Mr. J. R. Logan, the Ethnologist and Philologist of Indonesia, has the following remarks bearing on the name Hawa-iki—*vide* "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," vol. iv., p. 338. "The great island of Halmahera (or Gilolo) was in the oldest historical and traditional times the seat of the predominant tribe which included Ceram in its dominions and had its chief colony there in the fine bay of Sawai. From Sawai, it is probable the principal of those migrations went forth, which spreading along the northern coasts of the Melanesian chain, at last reached and colonised the Samoan islands, and thence diffused the S.W. Indonesian races throughout Polynesia. The name of Sawai or Sawaiki is literally Sawa-the-little, and Sawa is identical with Java; so that the name was first given (to that bay) by a Polynesian colony from Java;

just as the modern name of a country on the south coast, Seran, Selan, Ceram, Ceran, which Europeans have extended to the whole island—was bestowed by the Javanese colonists at a period when Singhalese seem to have been the leading Indian settlers or traders and civilizers in the Archipelago, if we may judge by many names of places, sovereigns, and chiefs, and by the histories of some of the Malayan races.

"The name Java, Jaba, Saba, Zaba, Jawa, Hawa, is the same word, which is used for rice-fields which are irrigated. The word is primarily connected with the flowing of water." (In a note he adds) "Sawa, Jawa, Saba, Jaba, etc., has evidently in all times been the capital local name in Indonesia. . . . The Bugis apply the name Jawa, Jawaka, to the Molukas."

The above quotation from Mr. Logan shows what an accomplished linguist and philologist considers to be the origin of the name Hawaiki (or Savaiki, for "h" and "s" are convertible letters, as are "w" and "v" in the Polynesian language) and his further remarks bear on one or more of the secondary Hawaikis, as we shall have to refer to later on. But the quotation is given here in order to assist in arriving at a meaning for the name. Mr. Edward Tregear has probably gone deeper into the origin of this and other names than anyone else, and briefly his conclusion is "That the names of the lands of Polynesian origin, such as Hawaiki, Varinga, Paliuli, and Atia, are derived from words used

for varieties of food, but primarily of grain. The grain-name was applied to barley, millet, wheat, etc., by the western natives, but to the rice by the people of India and the tribes moving eastward. It became in time not only a designation of the cereals themselves but of the soil in which they grew, and the methods of irrigation, etc."* I cannot exactly agree with Mr. Logan that the *iki* in Hawaiki, means little, otherwise it would be—in Maori—*iti*, for the Maoris have not, like the Hawaiians, and some others, changed the "t" into "k."† It may be that an "r" has been deleted, and the word might have been Hawa-riki, which of course means "little Hawa." But no Polynesian would, if this had been the case, use the form Hawaiki-nui (the great little Hawa). It seems to me more probable that the name may have been originally, Hawa-ariki or Hawa-the-regal, from *ariki, eiki, aka-iki,* etc., a high chief, king, firstborn, etc. Crawford, in his "History of the Indian Archipelago," vol. iii., p. 190, says: The name Java was derived from Indian sources, which is some evidence of it having been applied to some part of India itself, at one time. See *infra.*

*See also Mr. Tregear's exhaustive paper on this subject, Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. xiii., p. 105.

†This change—as to the Hawaiian Islands—is known to have taken place in the last few years of the eighteenth century—and indeed, it is not quite complete yet, for the Kauai people of the N.E. end of the Archipelago still use the "t."

However this may be, it seems clear, from the fact of finding this name widely spread in Indonesia, and from the other fact that it is connected with the origin of the race, we must seek some country further to the west than Indonesia for the original location of the name. Taken with the other evidence to be adduced, it apparently points to India as the Father-land of the race.

Tawhiti.

This name, under various forms according to the dialect in which it is found, is also a very ancient one, and like Hawaiki, has been applied to various lands occupied by the race. We have seen (*ante*) that under the form Tawhiti-nui (or great Tawhiti) it was given to a mountain in the Paparoa-i-Hawaiki. This is probably the most distant locality in which it is found, so far as Maori history is concerned. The name occurs in Indonesia, as in the case of Siti-Jawa, a name for the island of Java. John Crawfurd, F.R.S., in his "Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands," 1856, at page 165, under the heading of Java, says: "The name which we apply to it is correctly Jawa, and is derived from the principal nation which inhabits it. The word cannot stand by itself, and, like many similar ones in the languages of the Archipelago, is as often an adjective as a noun. When

the country is referred to it is preceded by some word signifying 'land' . . . . as Siti-Jawa, the 'land of Jawa,' " etc. Here we have probably the Polynesian word *hiti, whiti, iti* (according to the dialect) which means, 'to rise up,' and 'the east.' Although Mr. Crawfurd seems to infer that the word means "land," it seems to me probable that it is an old Kawi word—with which Polynesian is connected—meaning in this case "the east," from which we again infer, as on last page, that the name Jawa originated in India or some country to the west, but has been applied to that island as an eastern or newer Jawa. This word *siti, hiti,* etc., will be found in the cases mentioned below, all implying "east," or "new lands," to the east of the direction from which the colonists came.

The next place we find it is as a name for the Fiji group, the proper spelling of which is Viti; under Viti-levu, it is the name for the second in size of the islands of that group. Coming to Samoa we find the name as Tafiti, or Tafiti-a-pa'au (the winged Fiji) a name given to the Fiji group. In the name of Tahiti Island it again occurs. In the Hawaiian traditions it is found as Kahiki (or, as it was originally Tahiti) which appears to be used both for Tahiti Island and for all the parts of central Polynesia known to the Hawaiians, *i.e.,* from Fiji to the Marquesas; and also for some far more ancient place of that name, as in Kahiki-tu

and Kahiki-moe (East and West Kahiki or Tahiti) which Fornander thinks are countries far to the west of Indonesia.

The Maoris of the East Coast have a saying which embodies in a brief form, the stages of their migrations, *e.g.*, they came from Hono-i-wairua to Tawhiti-pa-mamao, thence to Tawhiti-roa, thence to Tawhiti-nui, thence to New Zealand. It is difficult to locate these places, but they probably include Fiji and Tahiti, in both of which groups the ancestors of the Maori once dwelt.

We next come to the name Tumuaki-o-Whiti (or Hiti) which is an expression used in the sacred chants of the Maoris and Morioris meaning the "Crown, or summit of Whiti"—Whiti being the same word as Tawhiti, for the *ta* is but a prefix. This expression is found in the *karakias* for the dead, where the spirits of the departed are sent off to Tumuaki-o-Whiti. It is a *kupu nui*, or word of great significance, having connection with their most sacred ceremonies; therefore, if Tawhiti-nui is a mountain in Hawaiki as has been said on a previous page, it would seem that this expression has reference to the summit of that mountain, to which the spirits of the dead went, and consequently would refer to some sacred mountain in the original Father-land. See also on this subject under the heading "Irihia," *infra*. In a Moriori *karakia*, speeding the parting spirit on its way, we find it directed to the Tupuaki-o-

Hiti,* to Hui-te-rangiora,† and it is well known that the latter name is an expression for Paradise, the place of departed spirits, and synonymous with Fatherland.

Altogether then, it seems reasonable to suppose that Tawhiti-nui, was a name for some part of the ancient Fatherland; and that like Hawaiki it has been applied frequently to stages in the migrations of the race.

To those who have the means of following out the course of reasoning herein adopted in the identification of these ancient homes of the Polynesians, I would make the following suggestion as a possible confirmation regarding Tawhiti-nui as a sacred mountain in India. It is well-known to all Polynesian scholars that Miru is the goddess of Hades, or the "Po," the place where departed spirits all go before arriving at Hui-te-rangiora, or Paradise. Now it may be that Miru=Meru,‡ or Mount Meru in India "the high Kailasa, the heaven of the Sivaites, the first great mountain (deity) of India * * * According to the Kishnu Puranā, the ocean fell on this Meru, and coursing down it, and four times round it, formed the four rivers of Paradise."|| It has

*Identical with Tumuaki-o-Whiti—the difference is merely dialectical.

†Sometimes called Whiwhi-te-rangiora, with practically the same meaning.

‡In Polynesian, it is rare that "i" changes to "e," but instances are known.

||Forman's "Short Studies, etc.", p. 118.

always been stated that the Maori account of the Deluge is connected with the river Tohinga which is said to be in Hawaiki. Can there be any connection between the Puranā and Maori accounts? and can the name of the goddess Hine have become applied to the mountain? Again, the name Tohinga means the act or time of Baptism or cleansing according to Maori rites. Can this name be connected with the sacred Ganges, in which to this day devout Hindus bathe to cleanse them of their sins?

Wawau.

We next come to Wawau, the Maori form of this old name, which has evidently been a very ancient one referring to some distant land in which the ancestors of the Maoris once dwelt. It is to be found in some of the ancient chants, often with an adjectival termination, as Wawau-atea a qualifying term which is also applied to other old names, and the meaning of which I think is best rendered by "happy," "free from care," though it has also the meaning of "open," "spacious." The name often occurs in the *karakia whakato kumara*, or incantations said at the time of planting the *kumara* (*Batatas*). In another old chant descriptive of the original formation of various lands, it is coupled with Whiwhi-te-rangiora, a term synonymous with Hui-te-rangiora already

alluded to as Paradise, thus showing it to be very ancient. Like other ancient names it has been applied as a place name to various stages in the migrations of the Polynesians. Fornander considers it to be identical with "Babao, an ancient name of Coupang, Isle of Timor; also a village and district there, and probably the name of the whole island before the Malays conquered and settled it, and named it Timor."* That there was such an island, or land, westward of New Guinea is shown by the fact that the spirits of the Motu people of New Guinea, went to Lavau, to the west; and the latter name, like Navau, is a mere variant of Vavau or Wawau. We next find it in the track of the migrations as an island now unknown, to the north of the Fijis, and in Vavau, one of the northern islands of the Tonga group, whose beautiful harbour of Niuafou is well known to tourists. In Samoa, so far as I am aware, it is not retained as the name of a traditional land, but it there means "old, ancient"—significant meanings which it is permissible to suggest meant originally, "Old as Vavau."† We must pass now to Eastern Polynesia to find the name again, and in Porapora of the Society group learn that the ancient name of that island was

*The Polynesian Race, Vol. 1, p. 10.

†Mr. John White gives the meaning of the word in Maori, as "oblivion," possibly derived from the same source as the Samoan word. But I do not know it with that meaning in Maori.

Vavau. It was from this Vavau, I have little doubt, that the ancestors of the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Kaipara came to New Zealand in their canoe, the "Mahuhu," long before the fleet in 1350. To the eastward of Tahiti, the name is found as Mature-vavao, the native name of the Actæan group, and in Vavau, another name for Rangiroa or Deans Island. Still further to the east, the Marquesans have recorded in their traditions the name of one of their stopping places, an island named Vevau, which apparently lies to the north of the Fiji group, and which I am inclined to identify with New Britain.

The Tahitian traditions mention a Vavau in connection with Samoa (besides the old name of Porapora) which is probably the Tongan island of that name—it is shown on Tupaea's chart, which that old Tahitian priest drew for Captain Cook in 1768. The name, as Wawau, was also known to Hawaiian traditions.

A Maori variant of this name is Ta-wau, and Ta-wawau, which is said in tradition to be an island near Tawhiti (or Tahiti) and is probably Vavau, or Porapora.

Mataora.

This name is found in Maori traditions, but is, I think, known only to the east coast tribes,—probably to the descendants of the old *tangata-whenua* alone. It is said to have been a very

ancient dwelling-place of the Maori ancestors. It was this place they removed to after leaving Au-roroa where Tane and the other gods lived, and from Mataora they removed to Hawaiki-nui. The meaning of this name, is "living, lively, fresh-looking, pleasant, safety." I am in doubt as to whether this ever was anything more than an emblematical name for the father-land, expressive of the prevalent ideas as to the happiness and plenty prevailing there. It is not known to any other branch of the race, so far as I am aware.

It may be suggested as a subject for further enquiry whether this name Mataora may perhaps be identical with the old Indian name Mathura, a place situated at the junction of the Ganges and Yamuna, which was a sacred place to the Indians.

Raro or Roro.

The above word enters into so many names of ancient places, that it probably had at one time the meaning of "land, region, country, etc."; of course Raro and Roro are identical—the change from "a" to "o" being very common in Polynesia—and is possibly connected with *oro*, which clearly meant at one time, a mountain, of which many illustrations might be given. The following names are given in Maori tradition:

—Raro-whara, Raro-henga* or Rorohenga, Raro-hana, Raro-whana, Raro-pouri, Raro-waia, and Rarotonga, which last is undoubtedly the island of that name, chief island of the Cook group. But it is questionable if this latter can be classed with the others, for we have the distinct statement in the traditions that its name was given by Tangiia (*circa* 1250) on securing directions where to find it, by going west (*raro*) and south (*tonga*)—the previous name was Tumu-te-varovaro. Raro-hana may probably be looked for in the far west, for it is connected with the story of the Deluge; but the others cannot be identified, unless we are justified in thinking Gi-lolo or Ji-lolo of Indonesia to represent one of them. But we do not know to what language Gi-lolo belongs—it may have been the original Polynesian name of that island, corrupted into its present form by the later occupants. Fornander identifies O-lolo-i-mehani, found in the Hawaiian traditions with Gi-lolo—*lolo* being the stem word of the name.

Other Ancient Names.

One of the oldest names for the Father-land is Nukuroa, a name which in later ages, but still very long ago, was applied to New Zealand.

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*This place is so ancient that it is said to be on the way to the Hades of the Maoris, which are situated in the original Hawaiki.

The Maori traditions in which this name is found relates to the age of the gods, and, therefore, it is very ancient. Now, under the forms of Nusa, Nuha, Nuhu, Nuka, Nuku, Nu'a, Nu'u, we find this word extending from the coasts of Asia to the Marquesas group, in all cases with the meaning of "land, or island, or earth." In combination with "roa," it means the great land or long-land, evidently referring to a continent. The lesser of the two larger of the Ke group of islands west of New Guinea is called Nuhu-roa, probably a name given by the Polynesians; and the furthest east in which we find it is Nuka-hiva of the Marquesas Group.

HERANGI, a name to be found in old Maori traditions, is probably identical with Hawaiian Holani and Helani, and Rarotonga Erangi-maunga. This, I agree with Fornander, is probably Selan or Ceram Island of Indonesia.

Or, again, it may easily have been Ceylon; the change from which to Herangi may be seen in the following:—Herangi=Selangi=Seran=Ceylon,—a series of letter-changes that is quite admissible according to known rules. Another name for Ceylon is Telinga.

TARANGA:—From the fact of this name occurring in the Creation legends it is evidently very old, and is no doubt synonymous with the

Hawaiian Kalana, or Kalana-i-hauola, one of the most ancient lands known to that people, wherein was the "Fountain of Youth"—the Maori "Waiora-a-Tane."

Irihia.

This name, which occurs in the traditions of the East Coast Maoris, (and in them only, so far as I know) is that of some country from which their ancestors came, before they moved on to Hawaiki, which, in this instance *may* be either Java, Savāi'i of the Samoan group, the Viti and adjacent group which was known as Hawaiki-raro; or Hawaiki-runga, which includes Tahiti, Paumotu, etc., and indeed, by the latter people, it covers the Hawaiian Islands also. But it is probably far more ancient than these, and refers to the most ancient Hawaiki of all. The inference to be drawn from the following quotation extracted from the "Travels of Tamatea" refers to a very ancient home under the name of Irihia, and one in which some form of script was in use. "Tamatea then journeyed right round the head waters of the Wai-taki river (South Island of New Zealand), and in a certain place he dug out a cave still in existence, which he ornamented with carvings and paintings. He used this cave to preserve the *tuhituhi* (writing) which had been brought from the distant land Irihia, beyond Hawaiki, by Uru-whenua and his

three brothers, painted on a stone called 'Komako-nui.' The meaning of this writing is now lost, but it was treasured in the memories of the men of old. The name of this cave was Te Ana-whakairo (the carved cave)."

Obviously from the mention of writing (also referred to in other traditions) we must look for Irihia either in Indonesia or further to the west—probably the latter, as the following extract from a document in my possession seems to show. The following is the translation—the first part of which, not included here, refers to the wars of the gods:—

"Behold! The spirits of the children of Tāne-nui-a-rangi (the god of that name) were taken up to a great mountain of exceeding height, where their employment was to make this mountain very *tapu*. Now, hence the spirits of all men ascend to that mountain in order to be purified and from thence they ascend to the Rangi-tuhaha (the twelve heavens), and here also are separated off the spirits of some, who proceed to Raro-henga, to the Muri-wai-hou, that is to the Reinga (Hades). This last place is a different world to this, it is below; the road to which is named Taheke-roa—which means the current of death that drags them thither.

"Now, that sacred mountain where the spirits from this world are made sacred (*i.e.* in this instance everlasting) is Te Hono-i-Wairua (the junction of spirits) and is situated in Tawhiti-pa-mamao, at Irihia, and it was from that land

that men and tribes dispersed to the islands of the great ocean. There have thus been two distinct separations in that land of Irihia; one of the spirits; one of those who dispersed from there in the flesh. Hawaiki-nui is a part of that land, that is, Tawhiti-pa-mamao. It was a great house of the Maori people, and in it was situated the 'whare-kura' (or temple of learning) of Rongo-marae-roa, who is the god of all cultivated food-plants,—*kumara, taro, hue, korau,* and others—besides the *arai-toto-kore,* which was reserved as an offering to the gods, because there was no blood in it. It would keep good for a long time, and hence when the original migrations came away (from Irihia) to the east, to the many islands they afterwards came across, they used this food the *arai-toto-kore,* (blood-less,—perhaps sapless—*arai*). There were three migrations at that date, and all of these directed the canoe-bows to the east. Now, the name Hawaiki-nui was used as a name for the island Hawaiki from which Tamatea (of the 'Takitimu' canoe) and his companions came hither to New Zealand, in remembrance of the original home they came from. The foods these three migrations brought with them from Hawaiki-nui and Irihia, which is also called Irihia-kuranui, were the *taro,* dried *kumara,* and the best of all, the *arai-toto-kore,* which could be eaten raw on the voyage. The *hautai* (dew of the sea, ? moisture) was the guardian of the fresh water, so it did not evaporate; and they

obtained fire by the *kaunoti* (*i.e.*, by the usual method of rubbing a pointed stick in a groove of another. . . . . ."

The information given in the above extracts has never been printed before. It came to me from a source that guarantees its genuineness, as part of the teaching of the old "whare-wananga" or college of learning referred to in Chapter I. hereof. I cannot suggest what kind of food *arai-toto-kore* is. *Arai-nano* in Mangareva Island is the *pandanus*, but probably has no connection here, though the drupes of that tree were eaten. At present the name Irihia cannot be identified with any known land.

Hora-nui-a-tau.

Hora-nui-a-Tau and Hau-papa-nui-a-Tau, the first meaning "the great outspread land of Tau," and the second, "the great heaped up land of Tau," or in other words the "hilly land of Tau," are said to have been the lands from whence the original inhabitants of New Zealand came from who differed slightly from the later migrations in that they apparently had more Melanesian blood in them, whilst still being Polynesians. They appear to have been more like the Niuē Islanders and the Moriori of the Chatham Islands.

These islands are, however, somewhere in the western Pacific, and are not very ancient homes of the Polynesians.

We may pass over the old names, Mata-te-ra, Waero-ta, and Waero-ti, for we have nothing more to guide us than that they are situated to the north-west of the Fiji group, and may be in Indonesia. None of these old homes of the Polynesians can be traced at present, for the names have been changed, and only enquiry in the various islands could show which they are.

The above are the principal names to be found in Maori traditions which relate to places where the people dwelt in remote antiquity. There are many others which refer to their later homes in the Pacific, some of which will be noted as we follow the course of the migrations. Before doing so it is necessary to note a few geographical names retained in the traditions of Rarotonga. The Hawaiians have many ancient names for various dwelling places of their ancestors, besides those mentioned herein, but they are not recognisable in the histories of other branches.

Atia-te-varinga-nui.

The above is the most ancient land known to the Rarotongans, and under the variation Atia, is the first name that is mentioned in their *karakias*—reciting the course of their migrations. It can be shown that one meaning of the word *vari*, which is the descriptive word in the above name, is mud, slime, earth, and the deduction might be

drawn that it meant the origin of the race from the primitive earth. There is another and very interesting meaning of the word *vari,* which will be new to Polynesian scholars, and as it bears intimately on the origin of the people, it may be here stated. In one of the Rarotongan traditions it is stated that, when living in Atia, the common food of the people was *vari,* and this continued to be so until the discovery of the bread-fruit and the *ui-ara-kakano,* the latter of which was discovered by one Tangaroa. The writer of the traditions from which this is taken evidently thought this word *vari,* referred to mud, as he calls it *e kai viivii* or disgusting food, evidently not knowing what the other meaning of the word is. Thinking there was a history in this word, and that it might be connected with *pari,* rice, I asked Mr. Edward Tregear to see what he could make of it, and this is the result: In Madagascar, the name for unhusked rice is *vari* or *vare*; in Sunda (Java), Macassar, Kolo, Ende, rice is *pare*; in the Bima tongue it is *fare*; in Malay it is *padi* and *pari.* It is sufficiently clear from the above that *vari* means rice, and the Rarotongan tradition is correct, though not now understood by the people themselves. It would seem from this that Atia was a country in which the rice grew, and the name Atia-te-varinga may be translated Atia-the-bericed, or where plenty of it grew.

De Candolle, in his "Origin of Cultivated Plants," says that rice was known to the Chinese 2,800 years B.C., and that they claim it

as an indigenous plant, which seems probable. Rumphius and other modern writers upon the Malay Archipelago give it only as a cultivated plant there. In British India it dates at least from the Aryan invasion, for rice has the Sanskrit name *vrihi, arunya*, etc. It was used in India, according to Theophrastus, who lived about the fourth century B.C., and it was grown in the Euphrates valley in the time of Alexander (B.C. 400). "When I said that the cultivation of rice in India was probably more recent than in China I did not mean that the plant was not wild there." The wild rice of India is called by the Telingas *newaree* (in which we recognise the word *wari* or *vari*; the Telingas are not Aryans). "Historical evidence and botanical probability tend to the belief that rice existed in India before cultivation," with much more to the same effect.

All this leads to the legitimate conclusion that rice is a very ancient food plant in India, dating certainly from before the time of Tu-te-rangi-marama, which we shall see was possibly about B.C. 450. I am inclined, therefore, to think that Atia-te-varinga-nui (Great Atia-covered-with-rice) supports the idea that the name refers to India.

As *vari* has then the double meaning of both rice and mud, it will be interesting to try and ascertain which is the older meaning of the two. As mud must have existed before rice was used, the second meaning is probably the more

modern, and the Polynesians, on their first discovery of the rice, applied to it the name of the mud in which it grew. If this is true, it follows that the Polynesians were the originators of this widespread name of *vari* and its variants, and further, that they gave it this name when living in India, for it has never been attempted to be shown that the name was carried from Indonesia or China to India.

With some branches of the Polynesians this name *vari* was associated with the very dawn of creation, (the primæval mud from which mankind was formed). The most ancient god, or demon, of the Mangaian Islanders, was Vari-ma-te-takere, (the beginning and the bottom) according to Dr. W. Wyatt Gill, "Myths and Songs," p. 3.

De Candolle and others say that rice is not indigenous in Indonesia, hence it probably came from India, and from what follows as to the discovery of the bread-fruit by the Polynesians, it seems to me a reasonable deduction that this people brought the rice from India and introduced it into Indonesia. Otherwise how could they have discarded rice after obtaining the bread-fruit if they had not brought it with them as it is not indigenous there? The bread-fruit is native to Indonesia, and does not grow in Asia. This shows that they had moved on from India to Indonesia (Avaiki is the place named, which I take to be Java), where they first became acquainted with the bread-fruit. It seems to me that, when the Polynesians left

India, they bequeathed—as it were—their word for rice to the Telinga and other peoples they left behind. I claim for the Polynesians that they are the original owners of the name for rice, and that they cultivated it in India before the irruption of the Aryans into that country.

It will not be inferred from what has been stated above, that the Polynesians were the first to occupy Indonesia. It is clear, upon several grounds, that they were preceded there by the Papuans or Melanesians—branches of a Negritto race. It seems probable, from what is known of these people, that they also came originally from India, and it is possible that they may have introduced the rice with them, but until it is shown that they did so, and that they use the word *vari* for rice, it seems more reasonable to suppose it was the Polynesians—a race of a much higher standard of civilization. Judging from Earle's "Papuans"—a term he applies to all the Negritto people of Indonesia, wherever found—this people, although fond of rice, do not grow it, or only to a very limited extent; they obtain it now-a-days by trade with the Malays. The inference is that they were not a rice-growing race originally; had they been so, we should find them still cultivating it in parts of Indonesia where they have not been disturbed, such as in New Guinea, or even further afield, in the Solomon and New Hebrides islands. The Polynesians—a superior race—would find little difficulty in expelling the Negritto race, wherever they came in contact

with them. No doubt they would often enslave them, and hence, probably, their references to the Manahune people, to be referred to later on. I assume that the Manahune were of the lighter-coloured Melanesians—or Papuans—not the almost black people. It is known that there are degrees of blackness amongst the race.

Andrews photo.
Ancient stone buildings at Ponape, Caroline Islands.

In connection with Atia, as being a name for India, I would say that, in the very old Maori traditions, is mentioned a name Otia, and Otia-iti, which I take to be variants of Atia. But we can gather nothing from Maori tradition as to the locality of these places.

Although this ancient Atia was probably India, it is quite clear that it was known also as

Avaiki and Avaiki-Atia; and, as in the case of Avaiki, they have probably applied that of Atia to some second country, or used it as a general term for Indonesia. This would seem so from the fact that voyages have been made from Avaiki-runga (Eastern Polynesia) to some place named Avaiki-te-varinga as late as the thirteenth century. We shall see later on that Tangiia, after his expulsion from Tahiti by his cousin Tutapu, went back to Avaiki-te-varinga to visit Tu-te-rangi-marama,* in order to obtain the help of the gods, who are said to have lived there. Although these are the words used, I am inclined to think he went to consult the priests of the ancient gods and obtain their counsel as to his future course. From that land he obtained a sacred drum, a trumpet, and learned a large number of *evas,* or ceremonial dances, which he subsequently introduced into Rarotonga, besides the *măna* or supernatural powers specially given to him by the gods. Judging from analogy, the *măna* would be in the form of potent *karakias* or incantations. It seems to me that India is too far off for Tangiia to have returned to. There is no doubt he introduced some innovations on previous customs from this Avaiki, wherever it may have been. Possibly the old keepers of legends used Avaiki here in a very general sense, as referring to the

*There are notices in other legends of a man of this name living at the period of Tangiia, as well as in the ancient days.

remote lands where the ancestors sojourned on their migrations.

In the name of Atia itself, there is a strong temptation to make use of the Tongan, Niuē, and Moriori pronunciation of the *t* (*ch* or *j*), and connect Atia with Atchin (which is pronounced and spelt by the Dutch, Atjeh). But Atchin is at the north-west end of Sumatra, and I think too far to the west for voyages to be made there from Eastern Polynesia. The second Atia is more likely to be the ancient name of some place in the Celebes, or perhaps Ceram. I am not aware if any ruins exist in those islands which might be identified with the Koro-tuatini, the temple built by Tu-te-rangi-marama, as referred to later on. We must not allow ourselves to think that this ancient temple is one of those in Java (also one of the Hawa-ikis), because it is known that they were built by the Hindoos in the sixth century, whereas the Koro-tuatini, if we may trust the genealogies, was created long before that. It may perhaps be suggested that the ancient ruins at Ponape in the Caroline group, so fully described by Mr. F. W. Christian in his work, "The Caroline Islands," 1899, and said to have been built by a strange people coming from the south, are possibly the remains of the Koro-tuatini, built by Tu-te-rangi-marama. But I think there is nothing to justify this idea; the style of building (see illustration) is quite different from that of any of the erections made by the Polynesians.

Wherever this Avaiki-te-varinga may be, it is clearly not Avaiki-raro in the Western Pacific, one piece of evidence of which is, that in returning to Samoa thence, Tangiia the Rarotongan voyager, first made the land (or the land first noticed in the account of his return) at Uea or Wallis Island, directly west of the Fiji group. I have no doubt the country he visited was Java, Celam, or some of the other islands of the Archipelago.

So much for the geographical evidence of the ancient Fatherland of the Polynesians. We will now proceed to show what some of the best informed have thought on this subject, and amongst them a learned and scientific observer who paid much attention to the question of the origin of the people; and in doing so, I make no apology for a lengthy quotation because the works in which Mr. Logan's papers appear, are extremely rare and indeed appear to have been quite unknown to many writers on this subject, amongst them most of those who are referred to below.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLYNESIANS ORIGINATED IN INDIA.

In considering the traditions of the various branches of the Polynesian race, as to their origin, it is undoubtedly the case, that these all point to the west as the direction by which they entered the Pacific. Those authors who have had a sufficient knowledge of the race and their traditions to be able to form an opinion on the subject, have all agreed in this particular.* Ellis, in his "Polynesian Researches," 1829, after several years' residence in Tahiti, came to this conclusion; though he subsequently

*Whilst I would include Dr. A. Lesson amongst those who have studied the race in their homes, and who, in his four large volumes "Les Polynésiens" (containing a very large amount of information about them) has come to an opposite conclusion, I should scarce allow him to have a comprehensive understanding of the traditions. His theory is, that the Polynesians are autocthones, originating in the South Island of New Zealand, which, he thinks, is the Hawaiki of tradition. For this there is no foundation at all.

seems rather to have modified it by suggesting that they first crossed the Pacific to the coasts of North America and thence back to the islands. Fornander in his "Polynesian Race," 1878, who has certainly studied the traditions available to him more than most writers, also believed they came from India, but prior to that from Saba, on the south-east coast of Arabia. F. D. Fenton, late Chief Judge of the Native Land Court, New Zealand, in his "Suggestions for a History of the Maori People," 1885, followed Fornander and elaborated his theory. Dr. Wyatt Gill, the author of "Myths and Songs of the South Pacific," 1876, is also of the same opinion, though his researches seem to have carried him little further to the west than Samoa and Fiji. There are other writers who have supported this theory and furnished further information on the subject, deducible principally from the Science of Philology—amongst whom may be mentioned Edward Tregear, Dr. John Fraser, Dr. D. Macdonald, Wm. Churchill, and Colonel Gudgeon.

Whether the race can be traced further back than Indonesia with any degree of certainty, is a moot point; but the writer is of opinion that it is a fair deduction from the traditions, that they can be traced as far back as India, in support of which a few quotations follow:—

It will be seen later on, that the dates derived from the Rarotongan genealogies will place the exodus of the Polynesians from India (as I

suppose) at about the year 450 B.C. or a little later. The Buddhist reformer Gotama flourished 557 B.C. to 477 B.C., or whilst the Polynesians were in India. But no trace of Buddhism is to be found in Polynesian History or Mythology—in fact, they came away before those doctrines had had time to penetrate to all parts of India, and indeed the disturbances arising at that time as mentioned in the Table of dates, *infra*, opposite the year 500 B.C. to 400 B.C., may have been one of the causes inducing the migrations. But it is suggested that the following Maori tradition, to be found in Mr. John White's "Ancient History of the Maori," vol. i., p. 168, may be a dimly remembered recollection of these disturbances, expressed in somewhat obscure and mythical terms, as is so often the case in these ancient traditions. It is clear that the tradition refers to some serious ethnic disturbance, and the fact that the god Tāne appears to have been the principal god or teacher at the time, shows how ancient it is. Tāne will yet be found to be, at one time in the history of the race, their most important god, subsequently, through causes that cannot be entered into here, relegated to a minor position. He is probably connected with Sun worship, of which there are faint glimpses to be obtained in Polynesian myth and tradition.

First, it must be noted that the word Buddha is an impossible form in any Polynesian dialect as at present constituted, and it is quite clear

that the form the name would take in Polynesian would be Puta. The following is the tradition:—

"Puta was the name of the man who was commissioned to call on all the people of the world to believe in God. He built a temple (probably identical with the Koro-tuatini, mentioned *infra*) in which to teach men how to become noble. The tribes were rebellious, and called to Puta and said, 'O Sir! Can your worship save you, or will the sacredness of your temple save you?' Puta replied, 'Friends! Hearken to the words which will tell of the works of Raki (the Heaven-father), the words which were given to Tāne, the words which I now disclose to you; or soon the hosts above will make an accusation.' That proud people answered Puta, and said, 'Friend, your words are lies.' Puta was grieved with Mataeho (sometimes called Mataaho), as he was the most obstinate unbeliever, and wished to be the sovereign of the world. Puta, addressing him, said, 'O, young man! you are an evil man, you are attempting to ignore the doctrine of Tāne. You have all heard my word, which I utter to each and every *pa* (town, village, fort). To-morrow an accusation will be made by Raki against the world.'

"Soon after this the child of Puta died; it was his first born, and the lord of all his family. Puta cut off the big toe of the child's foot, and cooked it in an oven, and with incantations and ceremonies took the sanctity off the toe; he then

put it in his mouth and spat the slaver produced by it over all the houses.*

"Then he took into his hand a calabash containing the sacred offering of life, and, having arrived at the banks of a stream, he opened the calabash and then closed it again; and saw a cloud standing in the heavens, bright as the brightness of a fire burning on the earth. He called on Raki to overturn the earth; he struck the earth with his knife, and the earth turned upside down, when all the people perished. Puta and his people alone were saved. Thenceforth this has been rehearsed as the 'overturning of Mata-eho by Puta.'"

In the above we see expressed in the language of myth, the record of some great ethnic disturbance, which some have connected with the deluge stories. But I submit it has nothing to do with the flood, but with some great trouble that overtook the people owing to the introduction of a new (or renewal of a more ancient) belief, such as Gotama initiated.

It may be added that the chapter in Mr. White's book from which the above has been taken has been looked on as containing quite modern ideas; but the fact of finding much of it in the traditions of other branches of the race proves that some, at any rate, of the statements

*The great toe had great functions in the old Maori ritual. After a *tohunga* or priest had completed the education of a *tauira*, or pupil, the latter had to bite the great toe of the teacher to ensure the permanence and *mana*, or power, prestige, etc., of the doctrines taught.

are a part of original Polynesian myths and beliefs, and therefore cautions us not to condemn the whole on only a superficial reading.

Mr. J. F. Hewitt, in his "The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times," 1895, traces with care and elaborateness the various methods used by early mankind in marking the time, and shows what celestial, or other means, were used in dividing and commencing the year. The earliest method of computing the dawn of the new year, as stated by Mr. Hewitt, both in the work quoted above, and in his subsequent work, "Primitive Traditional History," 1907, was by the constellation of the Pleiades. He shows that this system originated in Southern India, but that it still continues to be used by some of the tribes of the north-west coast of India, notwithstanding that the system has been overlaid and superseded in other parts by later systems. Now, the Polynesians date their new year from the rising of the Pleiades (or Mata-riki, which is their name for this constellation) when it is seen as morning star just before sunrise. It is called "Te Whetu-o-te-tau," or the star of the (new) year, and it rises in New Zealand in June, which was the first month of the year, and from thence onward the months were counted by twelve (sometimes thirteen) lunar months, each of which had a name of its own, as had each of the days of the lunar month. Mr. Hewitt mentions the division of this year "into two periods of six months each, marked by the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon at

sunset in November, the southern spring." These are the two seasons of Raumati and Takurua of the Maoris; and Matarii-i-nia (Mata-riki-i-runga in Maori, *i.e.*, 'the Pleiades above,), and Mata-rii-i-raro (Matariki-i-raro in Maori, *i.e.*, 'the Pleiades below'), as they are called in Tahiti. Again he mentions that an annual festival of the first fruits was observed at this period. This custom is (or was) current in Tahiti and the neighbouring groups, and in Rarotonga was called Takurua, a name probably derived from the star Sirius. Dr. W. Wyatt Gill, B.A., in his "Life in the Southern Isles," p. 99, gives a pretty picture of one of the dances performed by the Cook Islanders at the return of the Pleiades, and he says (p. 99), "The constellation of the Pleiades held an important place in the heathen mythology. Its appearance on the horizon at sunset about the middle of December determined the commencement (? of second half) of the new year. When at sunset the constellation was invisible, the second half of the year was supposed to have commenced. The appearance of the Pleiades in the horizon at sunset was in many islands a season of extravagant rejoicing, and was welcomed with frantic dances and discordant shell-music."

The offering of first fruits had probably ceased amongst the Maoris to a large extent, but it is known by tradition to have been in force amongst their ancestors in Tahiti, Ra'i-a-tea, and other islands. It was these same people of India that counted time by nights, and not

days, exactly as the Polynesians do. And again the same people who deduced their (subsequent) period of three year cycles from the constellation of Orion, the Maori name of which is Tau-toru, *i.e.*, the three-years,—surely more than a coincidence.

It would seem, when added to other evidence which might be adduced, especially from Mr. Hewitt's works quoted—that these things point to India as the original home of the Maori. But it would take too long to enumerate them. I will therefore content myself with saying that we may probably see the first portion of the word Hawa-iki in an old name for India itself. In the first of Mr. Hewitt's works quoted above, vol. i., p. 140, we learn that a name for the whole of India was Sindhava, which he translates "moon-land," from Sin (Maori *Hina*, Samoan *Sina*), the moon and the figure in it. Here it is suggested that the second part of the name, *hava*, is the *hawa* of Hawaiki, which Mr. Hewitt translates as "land," a meaning not differing much from those given *ante* as "rice-land," *i.e.*, irrigated land.

In order to support the theory of an Indian origin, I will first quote what Mr. J. R. Logan says on the subject; a gentleman who by his extensive philological knowledge should be an authority. He moreover had, from his long residence in Indonesia, a personal knowledge of the races and languages still spoken there, and also, to judge by several references, some acquaintance with the Polynesians themselves.

His opinion is, that the Polynesians formed part of the very ancient "Gangetic Race," which had been in India from remote antiquity, but which became modified from time to time by contact with Tibetan, Semitic, Aryan, and other races. It would seem indeed, if we compare the Mythology of the Polynesians with those of the most ancient mythologies of the old world, that there are sufficient points of similarity to hazard the conjecture that the race is the remnant of one of the most ancient races of the world, who have retained in its primitive forms, much of the beliefs that gave origin to the mythology of Assyria and Egypt. But this is too large a subject to enter on here. Readers should study Mr. E. Tregear's paper on "Asiatic Gods in the Pacific," J.P.S., vol. ii. p. 129.

The Gangetic Race.

In various places in his voluminous papers Mr. J. R. Logan thus refers to the Gangetic Race that occupied a considerable portion of India prior to the intrusion of the late Aryan race:—

Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands, by J. R. Logan, part ii., p. 1.—"I was especially struck with the constantly accumulating evidence of the derivation of the leading races of the islands (Indonesia) from Ultraindia and India, and was led to the conclusion that the basin of the Ganges and a large portion of Ultraindia were occupied by tribes akin to the

Malayan-Polynesians* before the movement of the Aryan or Indo-Germanic race into India. The combined and consistent evidence of physical conformation, language and customs placed this beyond doubt."

Page 29.—"But the adoption of the structure of a foreign tongue does not necessarily imply an abandonment of the native vocabulary. It is probable that intruding grammars have been more often and more fully adopted than intruding glossaries. The barbarous or inferior native tribes acquire the idiom of a civilized or dominant race of intruders, and this idiom gradually supplants their own, but the old vocabularies are often largely preserved by them and adopted by the obtrusive race. Thus it has been in the progress of the great formations of Asianesia (or Indonesia). The Papuans of the Viti (or Fiji) Archipelago have adopted the idiom of the intrusive Polynesians, but they have retained their native vocabularies to a great extent. So it must have been when the Iranian formation was diffused abroad. The numerous vocabularies of the Indo-European nations cannot have been derived from one mother tongue."

Page 51.—"The Western Burmans more often resemble the handsomer Asianesian

*I infer that Logan here refers to the Polynesians still remaining in Malaysia (or Indonesia), not that he considers the Malay to be connected with the Polynesians,—his subsequent remarks contradict the latter idea.

(Indonesian) tribes found in Borneo, some parts of East Indonesia, and Polynesia. Similar tribes appear to have preceded the Malayan race in Sumatra,* for they have left their impress, to a certain extent, on the Nias and some of the Batto tribes. Even in the Peninsula, neater, lighter and handsomer men than the ordinary Malay are not infrequent amongst some of the Binua tribes.

Journal Indian Archipelago, 1852-3, p. 34.—"Whatever may be the genealogy of the Indo-Germanic formation (Aryans, etc.) it must undoubtedly have been very ancient at the period it began to spread eastward and westward. Sanskrit itself is not the parent, but the sister of the other ancient members of the family (of languages) and the great distance between Sanskrit and all other non-Iranian languages of Western Asia, makes it evident that the formation must have existed as a distinct one from the Semitic, Scythic, and Tibetan, long before the Aryan races occupied N.W. India, while it is also certain that the Semitic variety of the same race, whether it be, or be not, the parent of the Iranian—must have been located in Western Asia from a still more remote period. The extreme antiquity of the Semitico-Iranian race in this province is established by its

*As I write I have before me a picture of a woman of Mantawai, an island off the coast of Sumatra. If the name of her abode had not been given, she would certainly be set down as a Polynesian, even to the dress and mode of carrying a basket.

strongly distinctive physical characters, when compared with the purer African, Scythic and Dravidian; by the double evidence of the Semitic and Indo-Germanic linguistic formations; by the absence of this race and their formations (of language) in all other parts of the world, save in those in which they are intrusive; and by their immemorial occupation of the impregnable mountain homes of the Caucasians and the ranges to the eastward as far as the Hindoo-Kush. The question necessarily arises, could such a race have remained for thousands of years interposed between Africa and India without exercising any influence on the races and languages of these regions? It may be considered as established by a concurrence of physical, linguistic, artistic, and historical evidence that this race became predominant in the basin of the Nile at least four or five chiliads before the Christian era. It is not probable that the Aryans became predominant in the basin of the Ganges more than 2000 B.C. But it is equally improbable that a race which gave civilization and a ruling caste to Egypt 2000 to 3000 years previously, did not begin to affect the ethnology of India until this period. The preservation of such a race during so long a period of a rigid exclusion would be an ethnic anomaly. * * *"

Page 37.—"The Aryan race appears to have begun to spread from the western side of the Jumna into the basin of the Ganges probably less than 4000 years ago. * * * It is probable

that the native races (*i.e.*, Gangetic) were here —at an early period of the Aryan era—reduced to a helot state, or driven in among the aborigines on the north and south of the valley. In the lower part of the valley (Ganges) progress appears to have been slow and partial. They (the Aryans) did not completely and permanently subjugate the native tribes, or dislodge them. They made conquests and founded kingdoms, but the mass of the population remained non-Aryan, and the Aryan dynasties were frequently supplanted by native ones. The Aryan princes do not appear to have been able to maintain their power in Behar and Bengal. In the fourth century B.C. the celebrated Chandragupta (from 391 to 315 B.C.) a Sudra (*i.e.* one of the native non-Aryan races) became King of Magadha, and no purely Aryan dynasty was ever re-established. Chandragupta and his successors were surnamed Maurya* from his mother Mura, but the name was probably a tribal one. It is still found as an ethnic and geographical name in the adjacent Himalayas (Murang Murmi) * * * But the priests, the religion, the civilization and the literature of the Aryans retained their power. The native languages were deeply Aryanised and the

*This word Maurya, has been used by some writers as a synonym for Maori. But those who think so have first to show that Maori was a racial name for the whole of the Polynesians. As a matter of fact it is only New Zealanders and Rarotongans who use the word as descriptive of themselves in the sense of a racial name.

physical character of the population was greatly modified. * * * Kocch, Bodo, and other purer remnants of the old race (*i.e.* Gangetic) are evidently in part, and in some of them in a great degree, indebted for the improvement in their physical type, when compared with the Tibetan and Chinese to the fact of their having been for more than 3000 years in contact with Aryans and Aryanised Indians, although it is probable they had assumed their distinctive character at a much earlier period. Tibetans may have spread into some parts of the Himalayas and directly or indirectly influenced the native Gangetic race before the Aryans advanced into India. * * From the remotest period, the Gangetic race must have influenced or been influenced by the Ultraindian (*i.e.* N.E. and E. of India) because there are no natural barriers like the Himalayas between them."

"A survey of the character and distribution of the Gangetic, Ultraindian, and Asianesian (Indonesian, as we now call it) peoples, renders it certain that the same Himalayo-Polynesian race was at one time spread over the Gangetic basin and Ultraindia. As this race is allied to the Chinese and Tibetan, it is probable that it originally spread from Ultraindia into N.E. India, I will afterwards show reasons for believing that the race itself is a modified one." * *

"From its position and character India must have been peopled from the earliest Asiatic era. As soon as any of the adjacent countries were

first occupied it could not fail to receive a population from the north. While navigation remained in its infancy, many accidental immigrants by sea would be absorbed into the mass of the native population and produce no perceptible effect on its physical character. But from the time when the adjacent shores of the Indian Ocean began to be the seats of commercial and maritime nations, the Peninsula must have been exposed to the regular influx of foreign traders and adventurers. From the antiquity of the Egyptian civilization, it is probable that the earliest commercial visitors were Africans (? not necessarily negroes) from Eastern Africa and Southern Arabia (? the Sabaens). It is certain that the subsequent Semitic navigators of the latter country, at an early date established that intercourse with India which they have maintained to the present day. The trade between India and the west appears to have been entirely in their hands for about 3000 years. During this period the Arab navigators not only remained for some months in Indian ports, between the outward and homeward voyages, but many settled in them as merchants." * *

"The influence of African and Arabic blood must have preceded that of Aryan in the Peninsula. In the times of Menu, perhaps 1000 years B.C., the Aryans had not spread as conquerors into the Peninsula. But they had begun to pass into it as settlers and propagandists at an earlier period." * *

Page 42.—"I conclude that the basis of the present population of the Dekhan was of an African character and that it was partially improved by Turanians or Irano-Turanians and Semitico-Turanians from the N.W., and afterwards by the more advanced N.E. African and Semitic settlers (*i.e.* Coasts of the Red Sea, etc.). * * The E. African tribes of the Red Sea and for some distance to the southwards as well as the S. Arabian, must, at a very archaic period, have been intimately connected with the southern and original seat of Egyptian development. It may, therefore, be considered as in a high degree probable that the pre-Aryan civilization of Southern India had a partially Egyptian character and that the Himyarites and their maritime precursors on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, whether Semitic or African, carried the influence of this Civilization to India." * *

Page 54.—"The Ultraindian races in their fundamental characters, physical and mental, and in all their social and national developments, from the lowest or most barbarous stages in which any of their tribes are now extant, to the highest civilization which they have obtained in Burma, Pegu, Siam, and Kamboja, are intimately connected with the Oceanic races. The tribes of the Niha-Polynesian family, who appear to have preceded those of the Malayan, resemble the finer type of the Mons, Burmans, and the allied Indian and Himalayan tribes. The Malayan family approximates closely to

the ruder or more purely Mongolian type of Ultraindia. The identity in person and character (of the Niha-Polynesian) is accompanied by a close agreement in habits, customs, institutions and arts, so as to place beyond doubt, that the lank-haired population of the islands (Oceania) has been received from the Gangetic and Ultra-indian races. The influx of this population closed the long era of Papuan predominance and gave rise to the new or modified forms of language which now prevails. The ethnic distance between the Polynesians and the Javans or the Mons, and the mere language and geographical position of the former, attest the great antiquity of the period when the Ultraindian tribes began to settle in Indonesia." * * *

Such in brief are J. R. Logan's ideas as to the ancient Gangetic-Polynesian race, and his remarks as to the admixture of races from very early times, seem to offer an explanation of many peculiarities that have been observed in the Polynesian race as we know it. The influence of the Ancient Egyptian and Semitic civilizations on the race during the period it occupied India are apparent at this day—not so much of the former, but more particularly of the Semitic —which would seem to indicate that the ethnic connection of the Semitic race was later in time and of longer duration. It has frequently been pointed out that the Egyptian sun-god Ra finds an equivalent in Polynesian in the name—Ra—for the sun; whilst there are indications that in

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ancient days the cult of the sun prevailed to a certain extent. But so ancient is it, and so little known about it, that it seems never to have prevailed to any large extent—that this cult in fact was learned from some outside race influencing the more ancient cult of Rangi and Papa—the Heaven-father and Earth-mother cult, traces of which are found in the most ancient of races. The influence of a Semitic connection, on the Polynesians, is very obvious to anyone who will study the language and the customs. Nearly all those who have dealt with the grammars of the various dialects of Polynesia have been struck with the many similarities in structure to be found between them and Semitic forms, but perhaps Dr. A. Macdonald of the New Hebrides has shown this most clearly in his papers published in the "Journal of the Polynesian Society," but has perhaps ridden his theories to an extent not wholly warranted. But the number of Semitic customs to be found prevailing among the Polynesians, is, perhaps, more striking than the lingual connection. The Rev. R. Taylor in his "Te Ika-a-Maui" mentions many of these, and his list might be very considerably augmented.†

*A possible connection between the Egyptian God Horus may be suggested in the Polynesian (Maori) name *Horu*, for clay coloured by, and impregnated by iron. "L'Anthropologie," August 1891, says, "There is no doubt that in certain myths of Egypt, there is a connection between Horus and iron."

†As a suggestion to Philologists I offer the following:—Tāne, was probably at one time the principal god of the

Of the other ethnic element mentioned by Logan, the Sanskrit speaking Aryan, it seems now quite clear from the researches of Tregear, Dr. John Fraser, and Fornander* (not to mention European writers) that that language has largely influenced Polynesian. So much does this appear to be the case, that it cannot be accounted for unless we allow of the lengthy sojourn of the two peoples in close proximity with a constant communication and probable intermarriage, as indicated in Logan's remarks on the Gangetic race.

Logan does not anywhere indicate the connection of his Gangetic race with the present inhabitants of India, under the names they are

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Polynesians, superseded, with some branches, at a later date by Tangaroa. There is a strong accent on the letter "a" of Tāne, denoting that a consonant has been dropped, or that it is a compound word with a prefix *Ta*. The word would then become Ta-ane. Now "n" and "l" are transposable letters in many languages, of which numerous illustrations from the Polynesian language might be adduced. Therefore, the root word may be "Ale," the Hebrew for the oak, and "Ta" is god, in more than one language. With the Maoris Tāne is essentially the god of trees and all matters connected with wood work. Hence it may be, that the very ancient tree worship—of which there are evident signs in Maori mythology—finds a lingering home in the word Tāne. Compare also the Niuē belief of the origin of mankind from a tree—"Journal Polynesian Society"; Vol. xi., p. 203. If this is so, it shows a Semitic or perhaps Dravidian connection.

*For the first, see his numerous papers published in the "Trans: and Proc: New Zealand Institute," and "Journal Polynesian Society." Dr. Fraser's papers are also to be found in the latter publication, whilst Fornander's third volume of his "Polynesian Race," is devoted entirely to this subject.

now classified by ethnologists, such as Dravidians, Kolarians, etc. And possibly they did not truly belong to any of these divisions, but were rather the result of crossings between the ancient Dravidians and the later Kolarians, Aryans, and other races, which have resulted in the Polynesian race. I do not feel competent to offer an opinion on this great question; but the more I study the traditions and the reasonable inferences that may be drawn from them, the more these seem to point to India as the first land of which the Polynesians have retained any record. They are generally acknowledged now to be a branch of the Caucasian race, who originated in Northern Africa, and according to Dr. A. H. Keane, one of the foremost of ethnologists, appear to have advanced from their original home in two streams,—one through Europe, Northern Asia, and thence down through the Philippines to Indonesia; whilst another passed through Western Asia on to India; at least so I gather from his latest work, "The World's Peoples," (1908), p. 415. But he considers that the main stream is that which came by way of the Korea and Japan, and that they afterwards amalgamated in Indonesia with the other branch. This view is followed also by Professor Macmillan Brown, in his "Maori and Polynesian," 1907, who has also extended Keane's theory to include a migration of one branch to Alaska. Professor Brown also advocates the view that a branch of the race occupied the islands of the Pacific at a very

much earlier date—he says, perhaps 100,000 years ago—when the eastern Pacific was occupied by a continent. I submit that there is nothing certain to corroborate this view at present, whatever may appear in the future. Nor is there in Polynesian traditions any indication that the forefathers of the race ever came from the north by way of Japan, etc. The positive statement is frequently made that they came from the west to the islands of the Great Ocean.

Logan seems to fix the date of the incursion of the Sanskrit speaking race into India as between 4000-2000 B.C. General Forlong ("Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions," 1897) a much later writer than Logan, and, therefore, having access to the latest information, assigns the following dates to events in India and Indonesia which will be useful for reference later on:—

	B.C.
The Aryans beginning to appear north of Kakasia	2200
The Indo-Aryans in the Panjab.. ..	1080
The Skuthi or Sacœ from Oxiana invade N.W. India	950
The Aryans begin to settle in Lower Panjab	850
The Aryans reached Mid-Ganges ..	800
The Aryans moving down the Ganges ..	620
Sanskrit ceased to be spoken	500
Gotama (the Buddhist) born 557 B.C. ..	477
Time of great disturbances in India	500-400
The Chinese heard of Indian Foreigners south of the Annam Peninsula ..	460

	B.C.
Probable date of the Phœnician inscription South Sumatra	450
Javan traditions say Java uninhabited but cared for by Vishnus	400
Magadha empire founded in India ..	325
Nearchus supposed to have sailed to Sumatra	323
Javan traditions state that about this time Arishtan Shar led to the Archipelago from N.W. India 20,000 families most of whom dispersed *en route,* probably in Malabar, Maladiva and Malagassar (Madagascar) ..	300
A second Indian invasion of Java from the Kling coast of 20,000 families, who established Vishnuism ..	290
Buddhism had reached the Indian Archipelago	223
A large body of Desa Sagala from Panjab went to Java	200-150
Indian Malas, or Malays, Yauvas or Javans, Bali and others, were all over the Peninsula and Archipelago ..	125

If the hypothesis is right to the effect that the Polynesians are a branch of the ancient Gangetic race, it is obvious from the above table that they must have had several centuries of communication with the Sanskrit speaking race, from the period when the latter occupied the mid-Ganges in B.C. 800, down to the probable time of the Polynesians leaving India about the fourth or fifth century B.C., which is the date we arrived at by aid of the Rarotonga traditions.

It is highly probable that some remains of the Polynesian race may still be traced in parts of India that have not been so much influenced by the later Aryan and other ethnic waves. Indeed a long correspondence between the late S. H. Peal, F.R.G.S. of Assam and myself of some years ago, seems to prove that the tribes occupying the hill country of Eastern India have many Polynesian customs, and moreover a few words of the language seem to have survived the many linguistic invasions they have been subject to. I notice in Dr. W. H. Furness's paper on the "Ethnology of the Naga Hills,"* a reference to several customs that are closely allied to Polynesian; the tattoo marks on the face of the Sema division is apparently just like the old Maori *moko-kuri,* whilst the description of the ceremonies connected with tattooing, and the tools used, might be taken as descriptive of those of the Polynesians to-day. In plate No. xl. of the same volume is shown an old Siamese man, who is to all intents and purposes an old Maori.

*Journal, "Anthropological Institute," Vol. xxxii.

CHAPTER V.

THE LOG-BOOKS OF THE MIGRATIONS.

Several branches of the race have preserved in their traditions a record of their migrations; but of all these that of the Marquesans is most full. In trying to locate the many places mentioned in these accounts, we shall succeed only with some of them, for this reason principally: the tribal organisation amongst the Polynesians appears to be of very ancient date, and this was much emphasized when the people occupied Indonesia, from the fact of different branches having been separated from the others for generations in the numerous islands of that Archipelago. Even supposing the race to have been one in speech, customs, beliefs, etc., at the time it left the Fatherland, progress through, and settlement on, the islands of the Archipelago in places separated by many miles of ocean, must have tended through local environment and lapse of time, to have caused a more or less tribal arrangement of the people. It thus came about that when the time arrived for them to move on into the Pacific, each tribe under its own chiefs and priests formed

separate *hekes*, or migrations, carrying with them the ideas, modified customs, beliefs and speech, which they had acquired in their temporary homes. As these expeditions passed onwards towards the sunrise and discovered fresh lands—dwelling there for more or less lengthy periods—they would give names to these new lands which are retained in the traditions of some particular branch of the race, but which may be quite unknown to other branches. A party of migrants arrives at some island, settles there for a time, gives the place a name, then moves onward, actuated by the growing desire of discovery—the desire to know what lies before them,—and departing, leaves no sign that can be interpreted into a name by those who follow. Other parties again follow somewhat different routes, giving different names to their discoveries; or they follow in the wake of the first-comers, but not knowing the names already given, apply fresh ones, which alone are retained in *their* records—to the exclusion of those given by the first discoverers. Hence we find such differences in the "logs" of the migrations. It is not until we approach Fiji, the general gathering ground of the race, that the names begin to accord more closely, and that because the later migrations found there people of their own race in occupation of settled homes.

There is another cause of difficulty in reconciling these names, but it may be, and often is,

overcome as further knowledge is gained. This is due to the change that takes place from time to time in the names of islands and places, which of course would only be known to the people who remained there, whilst those who have migrated would retain only the earlier name. The causes of these changes are not always apparent, but in some cases are probably due to the well-known Polynesian custom of altering the name of any thing or object when such name enters into that of one of their *tapued* chiefs; or, on the other hand it may be due to the occurrence of some notable event in the history of the people. The names of New Zealand illustrate these changes, though the origin of them is unknown: Nukuroa and Ukurangi (or Hukurangi) were both ancient names, but are now known to very few, the name of Aotea-roa having replaced them. Hawaiki-tautau, according to the Rarotongans, was another name of New Zealand, not known to the Maoris.

Some of these "Log-books" may now be quoted. That of the Maoris is extremely meagre; it is stated by the east coast tribes that they came from Tawhiti-nui, from Tawhiti-roa, from Tawhiti-pa-mamao, from Te Hono-i-wairua, and then on to New Zealand. Of course there are innumerable other names of places mentioned in Maori tradition, many of which have been noted, but this is the only statement I remember that gives the course of the migrations in regular sequence. The identification of

these names is very difficult. It has been shown that the first of these names is that of a mountain in the original Hawaiki-nui, and Tawhiti-nui may here be used as a synonym for that name. Tawhiti-roa (Long Tawhiti) may be intended for Sumatra, Java, or the whole of Indonesia. Tawhiti-pa-mamao (the distant Tawhiti)* with Te Hono-i-wairua has been shown to be situated in the original Fatherland (see *ante*).

There are indications in their traditions, but not precisely stated in sequence, that the later course of the migrations was *viâ* Mata-te-ra, Waerota, Waeroti, to Whiti, (Fiji). All of these islands can be shown by the traditions of other branches to lie to the north and west of Fiji, though not now known by those names.

The Rarotonga account is more full; it is embodied in a *karakia,* or recitation called a *kauraura,* to be found in the MSS. brought by myself from Rarotonga in 1897, and another version of which, but not so full, has been published in the Rev. Dr. W. Wyatt Gill's "Life in the Southern Isles."

**Tawhiti,* in Maori, means distant, but in no other dialect of the Polynesian language is anything like it to be found. I therefore think it is a modern word in this sense, coined since the arrival of the people in New Zealand, and derived from the island whence they came—Tahiti—and really meant when first used, "as far off as Tahiti." *Ta* is a prefix of a causative nature, *whiti,* or *hiti,* is to rise up, as the sun, and also means the east.

(*Intoned by the Priest*).

Speak thou ancient Tangaroa!
To thy worshippers.
Praise Tangaroa, praise him!

(*By the People*).

Praise him! praise him!
Ha! Ha! (with dance)
Let the gods speak,
Let the chiefs rule,
We offer worship, O our Gods!

(*Intoned by the Priest*).

Atia-te-varinga-nui is the original land
From which we sprang.
Avaiki-te-varinga is the original land
From which we sprang.
Iti-nui is the original land
From which we sprang.
Papua is the original land
From which we sprang.
Enua-kura is the original land
From which we sprang.
Avaiki is the original land
From which we sprang.
Kuporu is the original land
From which we sprang.
Manuka is the original land
From which we sprang.

As to Atia-te-varinga-nui, or Atia, as it is called in other chants, I have already shown the probability that this is India. The second name Avaiki-te-varinga, is probably Java. Iti-nui (Whiti-nui in Maori) may be one of the Maori Tawhitis, and from its position may be one of the Indonesian Islands, perhaps Siti-Jawa, one of the names for Java. Papua is some island

north of Fiji which cannot be identified—it is not New Guinea, as might be supposed by the similarity of names, because, that name is Malayan, and is descriptive of the woolly-haired Papuans who dwell there, and has been given long since the Polynesians left Indonesia. Papua is found in Rarotonga and other places as a local name.* Enua-kura—the land of red feathers—I suggest, may refer to New Guinea —the red feathers, so very highly prized by all Polynesians being those of the Bird of Paradise. Avaiki is the Savāi'i of the Samoan group, as Kupolu is Upolu, and Manuka, Manu'a, of the same group. This recitation describes the route of the migration to which both Maori and Rarotongan belong, the last named place being the little island forming the easternmost island of the Samoan group from which Makea Karika emigrated to Rarotonga *circa* 1250.

The Samoans have no "official log-book" of their migrations so far as I am aware, and the names of ancient dwelling-places of their ancestors are very few. The name of their "spirit land," as of the Tongans, is Pulota, which is not known to other branches of the race—except indeed in Fiji, where it is found under the variant "Mbulotu." If this is the name for the "spirit land," it is obviously also the name for their ancestral home in the far west, for we

*In the Marquesas it means "a garden," *i.e.*, *pa*, an enclosure, *pua*, flowers.

have already seen that the Samoan belief is identical with that of the other branches as to the flight of the spirits of the dead to the west. It has been suggested that in this name Pulo-tu, we can see a reference to the very common name —Pulo—of islands in Indonesia; but Pulo, an island, is a Malay word and is not known to the Polynesians as such, consequently this identification must fall through, for the Malays are a more modern people in Indonesia than the Polynesians. It has further been said that Pulotu is identical with Bouru, or Buru, or Buro, a large island to the west of Ceram, and that *tu* means sacred. But it should first be shown that Bouru is an ancient name dating from before the Malay occupation, and that *tu* really means sacred—I know of no such meaning in Polynesian. Dr. Carroll* traces the name back to "Burattu or Burutu, along the central part of the Euphrates river in Mesopotamia." Beyond this name of Pulotu, Samoans possess very few records of ancient countries, though Fiti (Fiji), Tonga, 'Atafu (Kandavu of the Fiji group), Papatea,† Tokelau, Uea (Wallis Island), and a few others are mentioned in their old chants, etc., but all referring to islands in the Pacific. The fact is, as it appears to me, the Samoans and Tongans formed part of the first migration into the Pacific, and they have been there so

*Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. iv., p. 153.

†It is said that Papatea is the Samoan name for the Marquesas Group, but further evidence of this is wanting.

long that they have forgotten their early history. All the numerous legends as to their origin seem to express their own belief in their being autocthones, created in the Samoan Islands.

Of Tongan traditions we really know very little, beyond what Mariner has written, and a few scattered notices in other publications.

The Tahitians, though having an extensive knowledge of the Pacific, before European intercourse, have no "log" of their migrations, so far as I am aware. Tupaea's chart, drawn for Captain Cook and first published by Forster* in 1778 shows the extent of their geographical knowledge, but it is confined to the Pacific.

We, therefore, pass on to the "log" of the Marquesan migrations, which, as has been said, is more complete than any other. It is taken from the documents of the late Mr. T. E. Lawson, who collected a large amount of matter from the Marquesan natives, which has not yet been published, except the following table in brief form by Judge Fornander in his work "The Polynesian Race." There are thirteen different chants relating to these stopping

*"Observations made during a Voyage round the World," by J. R. Forster, LL.D., F.R.S., &c., 1778. In "The Reports of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science" for 1898, I republished this chart, and identified most of Tupaea's names, notwithstanding that the late Admiral Wharton has declared that none of them could be identified.

places of the Marquesans (or "Take," as they call themselves) describing various incidents of their residence in each; and two accounts of this "log" have been preserved—the Atea account, and the Tani (or Tangi)† account—by different tribes.

In the table below, the Atea migration does not enumerate those marked with an asterisk, and the Tani "log" omits Havaii. As these people do not sound the letter "r" and omit the "g" when it follows "n," (as do Hawaiians) and often the "k," I have given in a second column the probable equivalents in Maori, so as to admit of comparison. The "log" is in the form of a recitation like that of the Rarotongans, with a somewhat similar chorus; the words, "the Take wandered, or spread" following each name. It is headed "*Te tau henua o Te Take,*" or "the lands of the Take."

	Maori form of name.
1. From Take-heehee, the Take spread	Take-herehere
2. To Ahee-tai, the Take spread	Ahere-tai
3. To Ao-nuu	Ao-nuku, or Aro-nuku, or Raro-nuku
4. „ Papa-nui	
5. „ Take-hee	Take-here
6. „ Hovau*	
7. „ Nini-oe*	Nini-ore, or Nini-kore

†After some study of Mr. Lawson's MSS. I rather doubt this word. It is probably Tanę, not Tani.

	Maori form of name.
8. To Ao-eva*	Ao-reva, or Aro-reva, or Raro-reva
9. „ Ani-take	Rangi-take
10. „ Hovau*	
11. „ Vevau*	Vavau, or Wawau
12. „ Havaii	Hawaiki
13. „ Te Tuuma†	Te Turuma, or Tūma
14. „ Meaai	Mea-rai
15. „ Fiti-nui	Whiti-nui
16. „ Te Mata-hou	
17. „ Tona-nui	Tonga-nui
18. „ Mau-eva	Mau-rewa, or Maru-rewa
19. „ Te Piina	Te Piringa
Una te tai te Take fio	Then over the sea the Take spread to
20. „ Te Ao-maama nei	Te Ao-marama here (Marquesas)
A fio te Take, fio o fio e Te Take a fio	The Take wandered, spread Spread the Takes.

Of the names mentioned, Take-heehee was no doubt the original land known to them, but it cannot now be identified, it would seem from the absence of the name, Hawaiki, Tawhiti, or Vavau in the early part of this log, that all the names down to 15 Fiti-nui, refer to Indonesia and the islands of New Guinea, Solomon, and New Hebrides. Apparently this migration came on to Vevau, which, from other traditions, is some island to the north of Fiji, and not Vavau of the Tonga group, from whence they

†Te Tuuma, may be intended for Rotūma, or Wallis Island. The Rarotongans call it Tūma.

went to Hawaiki, which by other traditions is probably in Indonesia, thence to two islands that cannot be recognised, but probably some of the islands to the north of the Fiji group, then to Great Fiji (No. 15), from there they passed to the east by way of Tonga-nui (probably Tongatapu) and three other islands to Te Ao-maama, which is their general name for the Marquesas. It is probable that No. 3 (Ao-nuku) may be identical with Raro-nuku, an island mentioned in Rarotonga traditions, but very far to the N.W.—probably in Indonesia. In a long chant in Mr. Lawson's collection we have the names of the ruling chiefs in some of these islands. Commencing with No. 2, Ahee-tai, they are as follows:—

2. Ahee-tai	The chief was Makoiko
3. Ao-nuu	„ Koui (Ko-uri) and his wife Kotea*
4. Papa-nui	„ Atea, and his wife Atanua
5. Take-hee	„ Papa-tanaoa and his wife Heihei-toua
9. Ani-tai (Ani-take)	„ Tani-oa-anu, and his wife Tane-oa
12. Havaii	„ Tona-fiti and his wife Mavena
13. Te Tuuma	„ Moe-po, and his wife Tounea

*Possibly these two names have some connection with the Maori Koko-uri and Koko-tea, now said to be the names of stars, but some obscure allusions seem rather to indicate their having been persons' names originally.

14. Mea-ai	The chief was Ono-tapu, and his wife Moe-veihea
16. Matahou	„ Manu-io, and his wife Atoo-mai.

According to the genealogical tables, Atea and his wife Ata-nua who ruled in Papanui, lived 76 generations ago, or *circa* the commencement of the Christian era. The people apparently dwelt in the land of Papa-nui and Take-hee for a lengthened period, for there is more about them in the chants than any other lands. It is to be hoped these Marquesan chants may be translated in full some day.

The next "log-book" we have is that of the Pau-motu islanders, which was obtained by me in Eastern Polynesia in 1897. It seems to go back to the Hawaiki and Vavau of Indonesia, mentioned in the Marquesan chants. It is as follows:—

Grew up the land Hawaiki,
With its King Rongo-nui;
Then grew up the land Vavau
With its King Toi-ane.

Then appeared the land Hiti-nui (Fiji)
With its King Tangaroa-manahune.

Then appeared the land Tonga-hau
With its King Itu-pava.

Then appeared the land Pa-hangahanga
With its King Horo-mo-ariki.

Then appeared the land Tahiti
With its King Mari-tangaroa,
And another King Mangi-o-rongo,
And another King who stirred up war.

Then appeared the land Meketika*
With its King Tu-hira,
And the King Tara-tu-vahu,
A promoter of war.

Then grew up the land Makatea
With its King Taruia,
And Puna-a-mate-hao-rangi,
A chief who encouraged war.

Then grew up the land Rangiroa
With its chief Tamatoa-ariki,
And Itu-pava, a chief
Who stirred up war.

Then grew up the land Ngaru-tua
And its chief Torohu,
A promoter of strife.

Grew up the land Kaukura
With its chief Maroturia,
And another Rongo-nui,
A promoter of war.

Grew up the land *Apataki*
With its King *Te Pukava*,
Another chief *Tahuka-tuarau*,
A stirrer up of war.

Grew up the land of *Niau*
With its chief *Ru-huki-kangakanga*,
And another *Riri-tua*,
A stirrer up of war.

*Meketika, now called by Tahitians Ma'ite'a or Osnaburg Island, is one of those mentioned by the West Coast Maoris as a former dwelling-place of their ancestors—it lies to the east of Tahiti, about 150 miles.

Grew up the land of Toau
With its chief Rahua-tuku-tahi,
And another Te Mate-ki-Havaiki,
A stirrer up of strife.

Grew up the land Fakarava
With its chief Makino,
And another Maoake-taharoa,
From whom came forth a line of chiefs.

Grew up the land Faite
Whose chief was Rahui,
And another named Hekava,
From whom came forth a line of chiefs.

Grew up the land Faite
With its chief Tuamea,
And another Mahanga-tuaiva,
From whom came a line of chiefs.

In this long chant, all the islands mentioned subsequently to Tahiti, are in the Pau-motu group, with which ancestors of the Maori, in the long ago, have very evidently had much to do; even the names of the chiefs here given, are all pure Maori, as is the wording of the chants. In the name of the chief who ruled this branch of the race in Hiti-nui (Great Fiji)—Tangaroa-manahune, we may probably recognise the chief of the same name, who is shown on the Tahitian genealogies as living 42 generations ago, or about the year 950, which is the period of the second era of migration and voyages, starting from the Fiji group, as will be referred to later on. Tonga-hau is probably the Tonga group, though I think the second part of the name is not now known to the Tongans themselves.

Whilst at this group, the name of the ruling chief was Itu-pava, the same as one of the gods brought over to New Zealand in the Arawa canoe *circa* 1350—a fact of some significance.

The above exhausts the lists of "logs" I am acquainted with, and taken altogether they give a good deal of information as to the stages of the different migrations, more especially of those branches of the race with which the Maoris were in the past most closely connected, *i.e.,* Rarotongans, Tahitians, Paumotuans, and Marquesans. I cannot here adduce the evidence on which this connection rests, but will merely point out that three out of the above four branches are the Cannibal division of the race—Tahitians, at any rate in modern times, were not cannibals.

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CHAPTER VI.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE RACE.

We may now proceed to glean from the Rarotongan traditions, supplemented where possible by those of other branches, the history of the race, from the time it left Atia-te-varinga-nui (or, as I hold, India) to the settlement of the Maoris in New Zealand, basing the dates on the genealogical tables given at the end hereof. In following this history out, it will be seen that it is practically that of the family with whom the genealogical table ends. But all Polynesian history is built on the same lines.

Atia-te-varinga-nui (or Hawaiki).

Over this land of Atia-te-varinga-nui, there ruled in very ancient days (b.c. 450 according to the genealogies) a king or ruling chief named Tu-te-rangi-marama, who is accredited with building a temple twelve fathoms high, which he enclosed with a stone wall, and named it a "Koro-tuatini," or place of many enclosures.

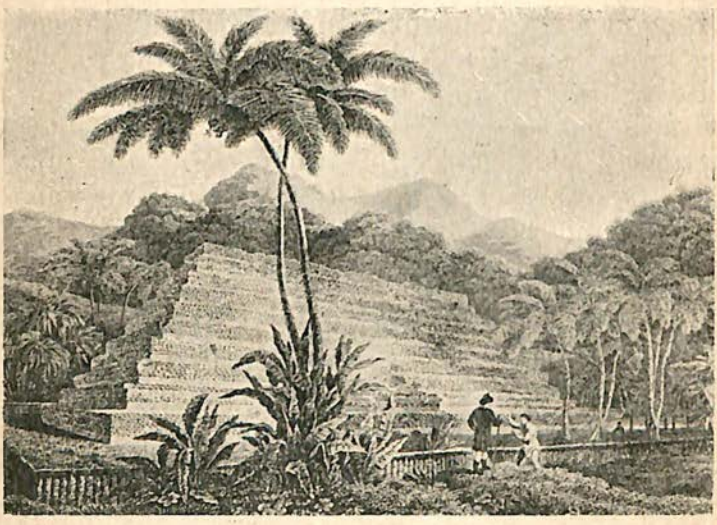
"It was built as a meeting place for gods and men; and here the spirits of the ancients after death foregathered with the gods. It was a *ngai tapu kakā,* "a sacred glorious place," of great space within, and filled with many beautiful and wonderful things. Here were originated the different kinds of *takuruas,* feasts and games, by Tu-te-rangi-marama, to dignify the land. From Atia came the "trumpets, the drums, of two kinds, and the numerous *evas,* or dances. Here also originated the *karioi** or houses of amusement, singing and dancing, besides many other things and customs. Here was first originated the *takuruatapu,* or sacred feasts to the gods Rongo, Tane, Rua-nuku, Tu, Tangaroa, and Tongaiti, and here also were the meeting places of the great chiefs of that period—of Tu-te-rangi-marama, of Te Nga-taito-ariki, of Atea, of Kau-kura, of Te Pupu, of Rua-te-atonga, and others, and of the great priests of old when they assembled to elect the kings, to meet in council to devise wise measures for men, slaves, and children. These were the orders of men who dwelt in that land, and these were the people who spread over all this great ocean." In Atia, also originated the

Karioi is the Rarotongan form of the Tahitian *'arioi,* the term applied to a class of roving actors and players, who were also the custodians of much of the historic traditions. In the Marquesas the name is *kaioi.* We have the name Karioi as a place-name in New Zealand, but enquiries always fail in obtaining the meaning of the name. As a verb it means, to idle, loiter.

great wars which caused the people to spread to all parts. In the statement above, which refers to the great wars which caused the people to migrate from their Fatherland, we may probably recognise the common origin of statements in most Maori traditions, that it was great wars that originated the migration, and it of course follows therefrom as a consequence that the Polynesian race were the defeated people, and had to depart. If we turn to General Forlong's table given on page 105 hereof, we notice the statement, "Time of great disturbances in India, B.C. 500-400," and this date accords well with that of Tu-te-rangi-marama and his father. Whether this synchronism is purely accidental or not, I am not prepared to say, but so many reasons seem to prove the Polynesian race to have been in India long prior to this date, that we may at any rate take it as a probable confirmation of the traditions. Gautama, the originator of the Buddhist religion died in B.C. 477, just about this period. If the Polynesians had left at a later date and after the spread of Buddhism, there would be some traces of it in the traditions or in the worship of the people down to the times of early European intercourse with them. But there is no trace of Buddhist doctrines whatever.

What the great temple built by Tu-te-rangi-marama was, I am quite unable to indicate, but that it was something quite out of the common

is obvious, for it is the only instance in Polynesian traditions that I am aware of, in which any such building of that height is mentioned. But, considering its use, it may be identical with



The *Marae* of Mahai-atea, Tahiti, in 1788.

the *whare-kura* mentioned under the heading Irihia, in chapter iv. hereof, though no dimensions are there given, nor any indication that the building was other than an ordinary Maori house. That it was one of the celebrated temples of Java, is quite out of the question, for they were built by the Hindoo Buddhists somewhere about A.D. 600, and we cannot allow that the Polynesians as a body were in Indonesia so late as that, though doubtless some few branches remained there, and are to be

found there at this day. If this temple was of the height—twelve fathoms=72 feet—mentioned in the traditions, or even half that height, and considering the purpose, it seems a fair inference that it was built of stone, or something more permanent than the usual edifices we know of in the Pacific. Of course the Polynesians did use stone in their sacred places, as witness the several pyramidal structures found formerly in Tahiti, of which Mahai-atea,* Papara district, was a particularly fine specimen. But this *marae* was solid within, whilst the Koro-tuatini of Tu-te-rangi-marama had many rooms. This would seem to show that the Polynesians have a traditional recollection of a higher civilization at one time prevailing.

If we take the period of Tu-te-rangi-marama as that at which the wars above referred to commenced, and suppose—which is not at all unreasonable—that it would take a long series of years for the invading people to drive the Polynesians seaward down the course of the Ganges—if we allow 100 years for this strife to have continued, it will be about the time (B.C. 315) when, as stated by Logan (see page 97), Chandragupta, the Maurya, established the

*Mahai-atea is of quite modern date, having been built in the seventeenth century. It is related that the blocks of stone of which the internal part is made, were handed from one to another by Te Teva clan, all the way from wherever the stones were found. The larger facing blocks of course could not be carried in this manner. The same story is told of Kohala *heiau* (or *marae*) in Hawaii.

kingdom of Magadha. Herein we may possibly see a reason for the wars referred to in the tradition, and a further reason for the migration of the people.

Emblems of the Maori gods, Tangaroa, Rongo, and Maru.

Forlong states (page 106 hereof) that it was about the year B.C. 300, that according to Javan tradition Arishtan Shar led to the Archipelago from N.W. India 20,000 families most of whom dispersed *en route,* probably in Malabar, Maladiva, and Malagassa. Is it not possible—nay probable—that these people were the forerunners of the Polynesian migration? To be followed 10 years after (B.C. 290) by the "Second Indian invasion of Java from the Kling coast, of 20,000 families who established Vishnuism." Or, on the other hand, the movement of this body of people may have been the active cause of the Polynesians moving on to the east, to the islands of Indonesia. We have again in Forlong's statement—"A large body of Desa-Sagala from Panjab went to Java B.C. 200-150," another probable cause of the Polynesian movement to the east, to Ceram, Celebes, etc.

Tu-te-rangi-marama, and others of those mentioned as flourishing during his times appear to have been subsequently deified into gods, which is in accord with Polynesian customs, but they do not take the same place in their Pantheon as do the greater gods of the race, Tane, Tu, Rongo, and Tangaroa.

AVAIKI-TE-VARINGA, OR AVAIKI.

FROM the times of Tu-te-rangi-marama downwards for fifteen generations, or 375 years, the history of the people is a blank; but at the end

of that time, or about the year B.C. 65, we come to the first actual traces of any migration. The history says of Te Kura-a-moo, "He went to the east, to the sun-rising, and remained there, in consequence of troubles that arose between him and his sisters through a basket of *matau* which one sister had trodden into the mud." This appears a slight cause to have given rise to what was evidently a separation off of one branch of the race. But it is a very trifling matter that will give rise to a great war with the Polynesians. The tradition goes on: "He remained there, and there was born to him," etc., etc., the genealogy following. From the next incident in the history, I come to the conclusion that the place Te Kura-a-moo migrated to was Avaiki-te-varinga, which I take to be Java.

If we take the above date of B.C. 65 as that of Kura-a-moo, it will allow of some 300 years probably during which the people had moved from India, passing along the coasts and down the Straits of Malacca, or along the west and south coasts of Sumatra, possibly leaving a remnant of their people in the Mentawi Islands, a people that are probably Polynesian in their origin, and becoming more and more a race of navigators as their excursions extended. No doubt many would be left behind along the coasts, and probably some traces of them are to be found there still, notwithstanding the ethnic waves that have passed that way.—(See *ante* what Logan has said on this subject).

The White Race.

There is a singular tradition existing amongst the Maoris to the effect that they learnt the art of making fishing nets from another race, and the name they give this race is Patu-pai-arehe, who have usually been considered as Fairies, or supernatural beings, with a local habitation in New Zealand. This, however, is but natural, for it is well known how common it is for all kinds of traditions to become localized in the process of time. The tradition clearly points to a time in the history of the race in which they did not know of the art of net-making; and it may further be inferred therefrom that there was also a time when the knowledge of the sea, fishing, etc., was not very extensive. We may of course dismiss the idea of the people learning this art from the Fairies as unscientific; but clearly it was learned from some other race who had more experience of a maritime or littoral life than the ancestors of the Polynesians. The Patu-pai-arehe are described as a white race, and it is said also that the Albinos found amongst the Maoris are their descendants. This of course is not true; but all through the race, everywhere we meet with it, we find a strain of light-coloured people who are not Albinos, but have quite light hair and fair complexions. With the Maoris this strain often runs in families for many generations; at other times it appears as a probable reversion to the original type from which the strain was

derived. There are also traditions amongst the Maoris of a race of "gods" called Pakehakeha, who are said always to live on the sea, and are white in complexion,—hence the name Pakeha they gave to the white man on first becoming acquainted with us in the eighteenth century. There are also other names for a white man, as Turehu, Waraki, Maitai (the latter also meaning iron). It is said of the Patu-pai-arehe, from whom the Maoris learnt the art of making fishing nets, that they worked at night, and disappeared as the sun rose; and it was by a stratagem that one Kahu-kura* secured one of the nets, since which time the Maoris have possessed them. They have much the same story in Niuē Island, but there it was the gods who came fishing at night, and the net was secured by a man who dived and fastened it to the coral; but it is a mere local variation of the other legend. So much for the Maori story.

But the Maori is not the only branch of the race that retains this tradition of contact with a white race, for Hawaiian history relates that Hawaii-loa, one of their great navigators, on one of his voyages apparently in Indonesia, brought back to his home two white men, *poe keokeo kane*,† who were married to his people.

*In the large genealogical table given at the end hereof, this name Kahu-kura under its Rarotongan form—Kau-kura—will be found. Apparently he lived in Hawaiki-nui, or India. There may be nothing in this more than a coincidence.

†Fornander loc. cit., Vol. I., p. 135.

According to Fornander's genealogy this man appears to have flourished about A.D. 300, or whilst the Polynesians were probably on the move southwards towards Fiji.

The Mangaian people, according to Dr. Wyatt Gill, call the *keu*, or light-coloured people, *Te anau keu a Tangaroa*, the light-coloured offspring of Tangaroa, the latter being their principal god, whilst he is the Neptune of the Maoris.

We thus see that there is evidently a dim recollection of a white, or light-coloured, people retained in Polynesian traditions. When we come to enquire into the origin of this story, it is most natural to ascribe it to contact with a light-coloured race in very ancient times. It is difficult to conceive of a brown race inventing such a distinguishing racial characteristic had they not actually seen it. Prior to that time all experience would go to prove that mankind was of the same brown tint as themselves, or of the darker races they must have been acquainted with. The very names the Maoris give to these white people are peculiar: Patu-pai-arehe cannot have a meaning given to it as can most other names; nor can Waraki; in fact I believe both names to be corruptions of words of some other and foreign language learnt in ancient days from a foreign race.

If we allow that there is sufficient warrant for believing this contact with a white race, it is most likely to have occurred on the shores of India or the westernmost parts of Indonesia.

Therefore, the two entries supplied by Forlong (see page 106 hereof) as follows:—"Probable date of the Phœnician inscription, South Sumatra, B.C. 450," and "Nearchus supposed to have sailed to Sumatra B.C. 323,"—may be a possible indication of the sources of the Polynesian traditions, and either the Phœnicians or the Greeks may have given them the fishing net. It was during this very period, if we trust the Rarotongan genealogies, that the Polynesians were migrating along the coast of Burma, the Straits of Malacca, Sumatra, and Java.

We may possibly see another origin for this white race in what Hewitt says ("Primitive Traditional History," vol. i., p. 104) of the Pandyas, or Pandu people, the original inhabitants of Lanka, or Ceylon, who trace their descent to a white (*pandu*) race. And it may be that *pandu,* which in the Polynesian tongue would be *patu,* is the origin of the name Patu-pai-arehe.

Sojourn in Indonesia.

It is impossible to tell from the information given in the traditions how long the Polynesians remained in Indonesia before pressure urged them onward to the Pacific, nor what the cause of the movement was beyond the mention of wars and other troubles, which may be inferred from other things rather than from any definite statement, except in the Marquesan

Chants, which expressly refer to wars, murders, famine, etc., and also show that some of them were taken into captivity. These events occurred in Papa-nui and Ahee-tai, several of them in the time of Atea, who has been shown to have lived about the first century, and the islands mentioned are clearly in Indonesia. Probably we may see in Forlong's statement, quoted on page 106 hereof, "Indian Mālas, or Malays, Yauvas or Javans, Bali, and others were all over the Peninsula and the Archipelago B.C. 125," a prime cause for the easterly movement of the Polynesians, which probably setting in about that period, forced them to the east, and caused them to seek new homes for themselves.

Whatever powers of navigation the people may have possessed prior to their arrival at Java (Hawaiki), the vast number of islands in the Archipelago would induce a great extension of their voyages, and generate a seafaring life, through which alone were they able at later periods to traverse the great Pacific from end to end in the remarkable manner that will be indicated. In the Archipelago, where most of the islands are forest-clad to the water's edge to this day, the water was the principal highway, and this necessitated constant use of canoes; whilst the location of the various branches of the people on different islands with considerable spaces of sea between, would induce the building of a larger class of vessels. It certainly seems from the very nature of the

surroundings that Indonesia was the school in which the Polynesians learnt to become expert navigators.

If, then, the people lived in Indonesia some three or perhaps four centuries as the traditions seem to indicate, it is to be expected that some of its peculiar features, as contrasted with the later homes of the people, ought to be preserved in tradition: such, for instance, as some of the animals there found,—animals that often test the powers of man to overcome, and of which there is nothing similar in Polynesia. I think in the following notes abstracted from the traditions, we may see a reference to some of the wild animals of Indonesia:—

First, with respect to the snake. There is a harmless reddish snake in Samoa, which the natives do not fear in the least, and also in Fiji, I am told. It is called in Samoa a *ngata,* a name the Maoris apply to the snail. Whether this is connected with the Indian word *naga* for a snake I am not prepared to say. In the Maori ear-ornament, called a *koropepe,* the snake is clearly shown with long curling body, tail, head, eyes, etc. Some people fancy they see in this a representation of the eagle-headed snake of the old world mythologies. The snake also occurs in the carvings. This is particularly noticeable in the large boards of a carved house inland of Opotiki, where two snakes, each about 15 feet long, are faithfully depicted. The name *moko* to be found in the dialects of several islands, appears originally to have represented

a snake-like animal, though now it is applied generally to a lizard. It is probable that some of the Maori stories referring to a large animal that was able to hold on to the branches of trees by its tail, and there defend itself against its pursuers, was a snake.

All these monsters have left a deep impression on the Maori mind, and it is quite possible that we may see in those of a snake-like character, the dim remembrance of Indian snake worship, which was so common amongst the Dravidian tribes, who were their nearest neighbours on the west. Fornander (*loc. cit.*, p. 43) says: "Traces of serpent worship, another peculiarly Cushite outgrowth of religious ideas, occur in Polynesian traditions, when reference is frequently made to the *moko* or *moo,* enormous powerful reptiles or serpents, evil beings generally, to be propitiated by sacrifices and offerings. In the Fiji group, where so much of ancient Polynesian lore, now forgotten elsewhere, is still retained, the god Ndengei, according to some traditions, is represented with the head of a serpent and part of the body of a serpent, the rest of his form being stone."

Of some one of the feline animals they have retained a recollection; whether referring to the tiger of India or the Malayan Peninsula, or to some other animal of that family, is doubtful. In the story of the snaring and killing of Matuku, a man-destroying monster, it is stated that the urine of the animal is very hurtful:

This is characteristic of feline animals, but applies to none that the Polynesians could have met in the Pacific.

The alligator has given rise to innumerable stories. The Maoris have probably some hundreds of them, all relating to adventures connected with and the slaying of them; but, as so often happens, the tales have become localized. The name given them is *taniwha,* or *ngarara,* or *moko-roa,* and the description of them is exactly that of the alligator, with fierce jaws, spiny backs, and powerful tails.

It is natural to suppose that if the Polynesians once dwelt in Indonesia, they would retain some recollection of the orang-utan, or other monkeys of those parts. In the story of the voyager Tura (in which occurs the name Wawau, which has been shown to be somewhere in Indonesia), he is said to have married a woman of the Aitanga-a-nuku-mai-tore people, who knew not the art of fire-making, and "lived in trees on the *wharawhara* (Astelia plant) and *kiekie* (Freycinetia plant). In form their chests and waists were large, and their heads were small. They were not human beings."* The *wharawhara* here is no doubt the pandanus, the ordinary name for which is *fara, fala, hara, ara,* according to the dialect. The people whom Tura came across were probably orang-utans; it is a subsequent embellishment his marriage with one of them. Mr. White gives the translation

*"Ancient History of the Maori," J. White, Vol. II., p. 9.

of the name of this people as "offspring of the red eye"; but there is another meaning of the name which describes the lascivious actions of monkeys.

In one of the Nga-Puhi (Maori) traditions collected in 1839, we find this statement: "The island from which the ancestors of Hehi came, was rich in productions; the *kumara* grew wild in the open places of the island of Waerota and the people lived on the fat of the land. * * * The ancestors said that the animals of some of the large islands near where they dwelt were very large, that is, the island of Waerota from which they migrated. * * * The islands were exceedingly hot, so that men went naked all the year round, wearing nothing but the *maro* or waist cloth." * * *

The Papuan Race of Indonesia.

Again, there ought to be traces of some recollection of the black or very dark brown Negritto races of Indonesia, called Papuans, which name is said to be derived from the Malay word *Puapua*, frizzled hair. Students of New Zealand history are aware that in the Maori traditions there are incidental notices of an ancient people called Manahune, Manahua, or Makahua, who are by some supposed to be a diminutive race, and somewhat like the elves of old-world stories. But they are not said to have lived in New Zealand. This people is also

known in Hawaii under the same name, *i.e.*, Menehune—a mere variant of Manahune—where they are described as somewhat like those of the Maori traditions. They appear to have been at one time very numerous, and lived in the mountains, but were in a state of subjection to the Hawaiians, performing for them many works that required great numbers, in order to complete the task at once. Like the Patu-pai-arehe of New Zealand story, these people are said not to like the daylight, but worked at night. Many of the *heiaus* and some of the *loko-i'a*, or fish-ponds of Hawaii are said to have been built by the Manahune. Again, in Tahiti we find mention of the same people, Manahune, who in Ellis's time formed the lower orders of the people. But they were an ancient tribe, or people, for Miss Henry tells me that the Tahitian expression *Ari'i o te tau Manahune* refers to the time when kings were born to the plebeians of Tahiti, begotten of the gods, but not wearing the chiefly *maro-ura*, or scarlet girdle, the insignia of the ruling chiefs of Tahiti. In a Paumotu genealogy in my possession, I find one of their chiefs named Tangaroa-Manahune, who lived many generations ago; and it is known that there was a tribe in old times in Mangaia named Manaune. We shall find later on a reference to them in Rarotonga history, where they are again referred to as little people. The word *manahune*, both in Maori and Rarotonga, means a scab, or mark on the body. None of the accounts I have seen

infer that these people ever differed in colour from the brown Polynesian. The Patu-pai-arehe or Turehu of the Maori, on the contrary, are distinctly stated to be white or light-coloured, and had the Manahune been of that colour, or black, the fact would probably have been mentioned. It may be that the origin of the name is due to the people who bore it being marked with cicatrices (*manahune*). Fornander seemed to be of the opinion that this was a racial name applied by the Polynesians to themselves in ancient times, and derived from one of their remote ancestors named Kalani-Menehune; but from Maori and Rarotonga accounts, they appear rather to have been an alien race. The vague notions the Polynesians generally now have in regard to the Manahune —their living in the mountains and forests, the wonderful powers of sorcery, etc., accredited to them—seems to point to their having been a race living in the remote past conquered by the Polynesians, and probably often enslaved by them. In fact, the traditions no doubt point to the Papuan or Melanesian race, who, it is well known, mark their flesh in gashes as an ornament, instead of tattoo, as with the Polynesians.

There seems to be two possible or probable theories to account for the Manahune. Either they were the first migration into the Pacific, or they were one of the races the Polynesians came into contact with in Indonesia, or further to the west, and some of whom they brought with them in their migrations as slaves. In this

latter case, the stories of their having inhabited Hawaii and Hawaiki are Indonesian events localised in process of time in the Pacific homes of the Polynesians. The latter theory is probably the more consonant with what is known of the Manahune. It would be quite in keeping with what we know of Polynesian customs, that on conquering the Papuans they came in contact with, they would enslave them, and carry them with them in their voyages to form part of their crews. Large numbers of the women would be enslaved and taken as wives, and hence the Papuan element in so many Polynesians of the present day. But this element was doubtless much increased during the lengthy sojourn of the Polynesians in the Fiji group. All history, tradition, and observation go to prove that Indonesia was occupied by this Negritto race from the very earliest times, and the Polynesians must have had constant communication with them, making war on them, ousting them from the lands, and enslaving them.

The same Nga-Puhi tradition which was quoted a few paragraphs back, goes on to state, "Some of the people of those parts were very black, a people who smelt very strongly when near, * * their hair was bunched out to be stiff and appeared in tufts, and their appearance was ill-favoured." This is, in brief form, a fair description of a Papuan or Melanesian.

Maui, the Ancient Hero.

During the period that the people were dwelling in Avaiki-te-varinga, which is certainly in Indonesia, we meet with the story of Māui, the great Polynesian hero or demigod. He is said by Rarotonga history to have been the son of Tangaroa, by the wife of Ataranga (Maori, Taranga), named Vaine-uenga. It seems that this Tangaroa was really a man, and not the god of that name, though in the process of time the attributes of the latter have been in some cases ascribed to the man Tangaroa. It is scarcely necessary to say that Tangaroa has been used as a man's name from remote times down to the present day, as a reference to the genealogical table at the end hereof will show. I suppose this particular Tangaroa to have been one of the adventurers and voyagers of the Indonesian sojourn; and he is accredited with having discovered a new kind of food, or fruit, the name of which, however, does not throw much light on what it was. It is called in Rarotongan history *ui-ara-kakano*,* and was

*I can only make a guess at the meaning of this word. *Ui* is the Rarotongan name for the yam. *Ara* has no sense in this connection. *Kakano* is a seed, such as that of the pumpkin, &c. I am not aware if any species of yam bears seeds. Mr. Taylor White (Jour. Poly. Soc., Vol. X., p. 205) suggests that it was the egg of the Maleo, one of the Megapodidae, which is found in the Celebes. It seems to me probable that Mr. White is right. In the original tradition the words are "Tangaroa went away and found a *white thing in the sand*, and brought it back. His wife was pulverising the *vari* (rice); he threw the white fruit (*ua*, a fruit; also means egg) into the *vari*, and it thereafter became a principal food of that household."

found by Tangaroa on the beach; it was white in colour, and become a common food of the people, almost to the exclusion—as history says—of the *vari,* or rice. Tangaroa met with some notable adventures with a monster fish called a *Moko-roa-i-ata** which is probably intended for an alligator, and which "fish" with a stroke of its tail, inflicted a humiliating defeat on Tangaroa. Tangaroa married Ina, the daughter of Vai-takere; and if this is the same person as mentioned in the genealogical table, the period must be fixed as early as the first century.

We find the names of several countries or islands mentioned that Tangaroa visited (besides the skies), such as Rangi-ura, Vai-ono, Avaiki, Vairau-te-ngangana,† Raro-nuku,‡ Rangi-make, etc.

Vai-takere, Tangaroa's father-in-law, is accredited with the introduction of the bread fruit to the knowledge of his people. The story about it is overlaid with mythical incidents, as

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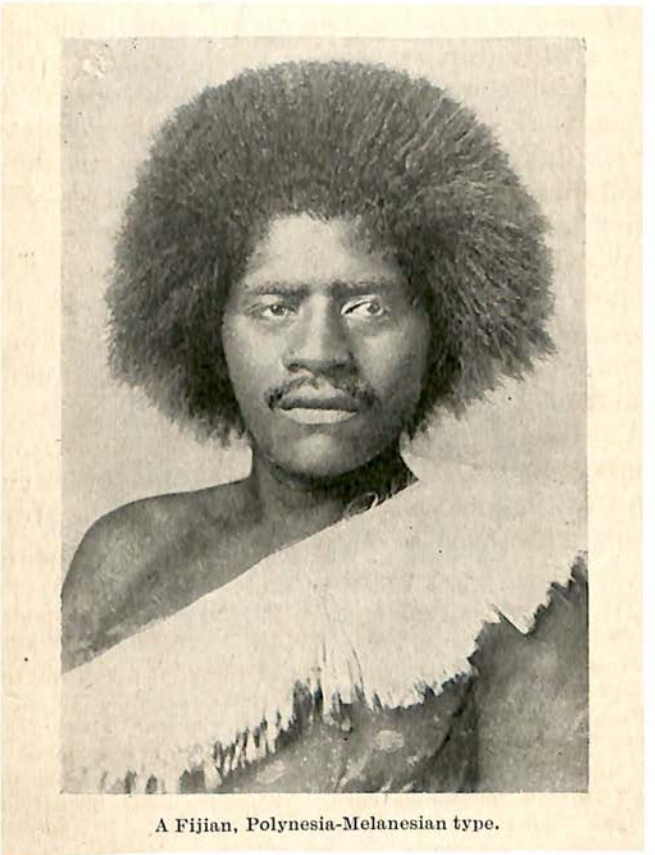
*The change from *ka* to *nga* being common to the language, we may probably see in this name the Maori Mango-roi-ata.

†In the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. III., p. 105, it will be seen that the Maoris have retained in their traditions the name Wairua-ngangana as the place from which they originally obtained the *taro,* and introduced it into Hawaiki. The two names are not exactly the same, the *u* and the *a* being interchanged. No assistance in identifying the island can be derived from the native habitat of the *taro,* which seems to have been common to India and Indonesia.

‡This is the island which I suppose to be represented by the name Ao-nuku in Marquesan traditions. (See a former page.)

are so many Polynesian tales, but there is no doubt a substratum of historical fact. It appears to have been first discovered growing



A Fijian, Polynesia-Melanesian type.

in the mountains. There were great rejoicings at the discovery. Vai-takere's wife is accredited with having produced the *ii*, which is, I think,

the Tahitian *ifi, ihi,* or chestnut,* called also by the Rarotongans *mape.* The story says that two new foods having been discovered in Avaiki, the use of *vari,* or rice, was abandoned.

Notwithstanding the fanciful dress in which we find these stories in the original, they point strongly to the first arrival of the people in a strange land, where new kinds of food were discovered.

The bread fruit is stated by De Candolle in his "Origin of Cultivated Plants" to be a native of Java. "The bread fruit is evidently a native of Java, Amboyna, and the neighbouring islands; but the antiquity of its cultivation in the whole of the archipelago, proved by the number of varieties, and the facility of propagating it by buds and suckers, prevent us from knowing its history accurately." The rice of course grows in Java at the present day, and I hold the probability is the Polynesians first introduced it there from India; and it is also tolerably certain that they brought the bread fruit from Indonesia with them on their migrations, for the varieties now growing in Polynesia are seedless, and can be propagated only by suckers. It is clearly not a native of Polynesia.

At this time the people were apparently divided into tribes, for we find the names

**Inocarpus edulis,* which grows in Indonesia, but is thought to be a native of America. It is probable that the Polynesians brought the seeds of this tree with them into the Pacific, where it is believed to be a cultivated plant.

mentioned of Ati-Apai and Ngati-Ataranga, both Ati and Ngati being tribal prenominals.

The hero Māui is said above to have been the son of Tangaroa. It has long been thought by some people that Māui, or one of the Māuis, was in reality an early voyager into the Pacific, who through his exploits has been clothed by succeeding generations with the miraculous deeds of a god. The Rarotongan story seems rather to bear this out, whilst at the same time relating much of the marvellous. After describing his nurture in a cave and his wonderful uprising therefrom, which reminds us of the Tahitian story of Hono-ura,* it then relates his overcoming the sea monster Moko-roa-i-ata to avenge the insult to his father, after which he started on his travels. During this voyage—if it may be so called, but no mention is made of a canoe—he visited and fished up Mani-hiki Island, north of Rarotonga,† then went to Tonga-ake, which is the name of the east side of Tonga-tapu, then to Rangi-raro, to Rangi-uru, to Avaiki-runga (the Tahitian group), to Vaii (the Hawaiian group), to Ngangai, Te-aro-maro-o-pipi, then south to the Marquesas, the several islands of which groups are referred to as Iva-nui, Iva-rai, Iva-te-pukenga, Rauao, and Iva-kirikiri,‡ then westward to Paumotu,

*Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IV., p. 256.

†This is an instance of a more modern story incorporated in a very ancient one.

‡Iva is retained still in the present name of Hiva-oa and Nuku-hiva of the Marquesas.

Tahiti, Raiatea, Porapora, to Atiu, Mangaia, and Rarotonga of the Cook group, from whence he returned westward, and finally to Na-vao, the place of departed spirits in Avaiki. It was on this voyage also that he visited U-peru, which in the second edition of this work I have suggested may be Peru. But as that is apparently a Spanish word, then Peru may be an island of that name in the Gilbert Group, lat. 2° South.

There are some things worthy of note in this expedition. I would particularly call the attention of Hawaiians to the fact that Māui is stated to have called that group Māuiui, in remembrance of his efforts in "lifting up the heavens"; and he gave it another name, Vaii (or Vaihi or Waihi,* known as such both to Tahitians and Maoris), and a third name he gave was Ngangai. Now in Hawaiian this would be Nanai; and as the change from *r* and *l* to *n* is common in Polynesian, we may see the origin of the name of Lanai Island, off Māui,

*It is well known that Captain Cook gives the name of Owyhee to the Sandwich Islands, or Hawaii as they are now called. This name has always been supposed to be a corruption of the proper name of the largest island of the group—Hawaii. If we separate this name of Owyhee into its component parts, it is "O," the demonstrative which precedes all proper nouns, as *ko* in Maori; and "wyhee" is in Polynesian letters *waihi*. As Captain Cook had with him a native of Tahiti when he discovered the Sandwich Islands, and as the islands were known to his people as Vaihi, it seems that we have here the true origin of the name Owyhee, rather than that it is a corruption of Hawaii.

Hawaiian group. It is stated that *Māui* named this last island on account of the *ui-tatauanga,* or "tattooing with the *ui,*" or tattooing comb. It was in Avaiki-runga(which by one account is made to include the Hawaiian Islands) that he visited Mauike, *te pu o te āi* the lord of fire, whose daughter—amongst others—was Pere (the Hawaiian fire goddess Pele). Now this is a remarkable deviation from the Maori and other stories relating Māui's visit to Mahuika, the god or goddess of fire, whose residence is always said to be in the nether world: here it is said to be in Hawaii; evidently a reference to the volcanoes of that group. I am not aware whether any of the ancient names of the Hawaiian Islands bears any resemblance to Te Aro-maro-o-pipi,* but the Hawaiian Island of Māui is clearly that indicated above as Mauiui.

I would suggest that Māui's "lifting up of the heavens" is a metaphor used to describe his onward course from horizon to horizon "where the sky hangs down," and his penetration into new seas beyond the limit of the knowledge of his compeers. The lifting—in fact—of the clouds of ignorance by the discovery of fresh island worlds. This has an analogy in the Maori account of "felling with an axe" the storms and difficulties they met on the voyage to New Zealand in later times.

Whether the theory hinted at above as to Māui being a real historical person or not is

*"The dry or hard front of Pipi," or perhaps "The dry chasm of Pipi."

correct, must be left to the decision of some one who will study the whole body of legends relating to him as derived from all branches of the race; but the Rarotongan account in a measure supports Fornander's hypothesis that this series of legends is older than the migration into the Pacific.* So far as the most mythical parts of the story of Māui, such as his obtaining fire from the under-world, and his death through trying to enter Hine-nui-te-po (Great Mother of Night, or Hades), we may look to the myths of very ancient peoples to find its origin —to those of India, Assyria, and Egypt probably, where the story, somewhat modified it is true, is to be found. There have been very many Māuis in Polynesian history, and in process of time the deeds of some ancient and mythical Māui have become confounded with those of men who lived in later ages. The Rarotongans do not, so far as I know, trace any descent from Māui of this period, though Hawaiians and Maoris do from one who lived in a later age.

Arrival at and Sojourn in Fiji.

From the period of Vai-takere, when, as appears undoubted the people were living in Indonesia, down to that of Tu-tarangi, whose epoch has been shown to be about A.D. 450, there is again complete silence as to the doings of the people,

*Fornander, Vol. I., p. 200.

and nothing whatever is related of the sixteen ancestors who separate the two people mentioned. In Tu-tarangi's time the people were living in Fiji, for that place and Avaiki are named as his country, which from the names of other places now for the first time mentioned, such as Amama* and Avarua, means Avaiki-raro, which name—to the Rarotongans—covers the Fiji, Samoan, and Tonga groups. It is probable that, during this period of 450 years between Vai-takere and Tu-tarangi, that the people had moved on from Indonesia to Fiji, and had occupied part of the latter group. It is obvious from the incidental references in the legends that they were there in considerable numbers at this time, which would lead us to infer that their occupation of that group had already extended over some time. Fornander quotes the year A.D. 76 as corresponding with the commencement of the Malay Empire in the Indian Archipelago, and "then commenced those wars against the Rakshasas, the Polynesio-Cushite pre-Malay inhabitants, which ended in their subjugation, isolation or expulsion throughout the archipelago. Eighty years from that time bring us to the period of Wakea, and the same time possibly brought the Malays from Java and Sumatra, where they first set

*Amama is generally mentioned in connection with the Fiji Group, sometimes with Wallis and Horn Island. This is supported by Tahitian tradition, where Ra-'i-hamama is shown to be near Fiji, but Miss Henry says Ra'i-hamama is also an ancient name of Ra'i-roa of Paumotu.

foot, to Timor, Gilolo and the Philippines.''* But by the method of computing dates used in this work, Wakea's period would be about the year A.D. 390, and this is probably more reasonable. This intrusive Malay race—if they were Malays, no doubt they were the Malas, etc., referred to by Forlong, who began to spread over the Archipelago about B.C. 125—would not probably in eighty years have spread all over the Archipelago in sufficient numbers to have expelled the Polynesians. No doubt there was a time when the two races were in contact, and the Malays learnt from the Polynesians some words of their language, together with some of their customs. On the other hand, it is very probable that part of the Polynesian race never left the Archipelago, and that the Polynesian influences on the Malay language and customs may have been derived from those who remained.

The people called by A. R. Wallace, Galela, and who live on the northern shores of Gilolo, are, in all probability, remnants of the Polynesian race. Mr. Wallace describes them (''The Malay Archipelago'' p. 325) thus: ''They are a very fine people of light complexion, tall, and with Papuan features, coming nearer to the drawings and descriptions of the Polynesians of Tahiti and Hawaii than any I have seen.''

We cannot, however, at the present time settle when the Polynesians left Indonesia. All

*Fornander, Vol. I., p. 162.

that can be said is that, so far as the Hawaiian and Rarotongan branches (including the Maoris) are concerned, they left between the first and fifth centuries. From the want of any direct traditions amongst the Samoans and Tongans, it is probable that they had preceded the others and were the first to enter the Pacific. They have been so long in their present homes that all tradition of their arrival is lost, and hence they have come to look on themselves as autochthones. The very vague references in Samoan history to arrivals from without the group have little value for historical purposes.

Starting from Avaiki-te-varinga, which is probably Java, the route followed by the migrations would be *viâ* the Celebes, Ceram, and Gilolo, where, no doubt, there were colonies of their own people, to the north shores of New Guinea. Finding this country already occupied by the Papuans, they would coast along to the south-east end, where, it would seem, a very early migration settled, which is now represented by the Motu and cognate tribes. This same route was probably followed by the ancestors of the Rarotongans, until they branched off past New Britain and the Solomon Islands on their way to Fiji, probably leaving a colony at Sikaiana or Steward's Island, off the coast of the Solomons, where the people speak a dialect of Maori or Rarotongan, and are Polynesians. Whether Lord Howe's Island, or Le-ua-niua, also called Ontong Java, was peopled at this time is uncertain. It is

inhabited by Polynesians, as Mr. Churchill tells me, and is corroborated by the Rev. George Brown, the well-known missionary, who visited the islands a few years since, and came to the conclusion that the people were connected with the Samoans. Possibly Nuku-oro and Luku-noa also were colonized at this time. But if so, it seems probable that one line of migrations, leaving the coasts of New Guinea, struck to the east, and after making the Kingsmill Group, followed through the Gilbert and Ellice groups down to the general gathering place, Fiji. In more than one Rarotongan tradition an island or country is mentioned, named Enua-kura, or the "land of red feathers," which is possibly New Guinea, so called by the Rarotongans after the Bird of Paradise, the beautiful feathers of which would be to them treasures of the highest value—such treasures as Europeans who do not know the race can hardly believe in; they were their jewels. Again, in one of their traditions is mentioned Papua, a name that is also to be found on Rarotonga itself. Whether this Papua is New Guinea cannot be determined until we know positively whether this is an old name of New Guinea, or any part of it, or not. It has been doubted, and the name said to be of Malay origin. Papua is certainly one of the places, according to their traditions, where the Rarotongans called or stayed at on their migrations. It is mentioned by Rarotongan tradition, and shown on Tupaea's chart of 1773,

long before any Polynesians could have been acquainted with the present name of New Guinea. No doubt there were many migrations, which, as has been indicated, did not always follow the same route, and it is quite possible that some of them came south about of New Guinea, and the Motu and cognate tribes of that country may be derelicts left there as the migrations passed on. But evidence of this is wanting.

In the time of Tu-tarangi A.D. 450, one tradition states that the people had arrived in Iti, or Fiji, but I think this may be interpreted to mean the eastern part of Fiji, not that they first then arrived in the group. The story says, "Tu-tarangi was the chief who made war in that country. He conquered Iti-nui, Iti-rai, Iti-takai-kere, Iti-a-naunau, Tonga, Nuku, Anga-ura, Kuru-pongi, Ara-matietie, Matate-ra, Uea, Vai-rota, Katua-pai (? Atu-apai), Vavau, Enua-kura, Eremanga, and all other islands in that neighbourhood. He also conquered part of Manuka, but on proceeding to the other side he lost his chief warrior Kurueke." The reason given for this war is, like so many Polynesian stories, rather childish. Tu-tarangi owned two birds named Aroa-uta and Aroa-tai,* which he valued very much for the purpose of catching fish. They were

*It is singular that we have in New Zealand two mountain peaks standing close together named Aroha-uta and Aroha-tai, identical with the names of these birds.

borrowed by Tane-au-vaka, who killed them. Then comes an account of the making of some sacred spears, in which the gods take part, and with which Kuru, the famous warrior kills Ti-tape-uta and Ti-tape-tai, the children of Tu-tavake, besides others, and finally slays Tane-au-vaka, the destroyer of the birds. Eventually Kuru goes to Amama, where he himself is killed by Maru-mamao.

From a study of the various traditions relating to this period, it would seem, that prior to, or about the time of Tu-tarangi* (A.D. 450), the people had already reached the Tonga Group, and communicated with Samoa, possibly establishing colonies there, but in no great numbers, and the people whom they came in contact with would be the original migration of Samoans—Polynesians like themselves. There is nothing but probability to indicate the presence of the true Fijians (or Melanesians) in Fiji at that time, and the wars referred to seem to have been with their own race—that is, with some of the other tribal organisations who probably arrived in the group from Indonesia at nearly the same period or may have been with the Melanesians. As yet, there had been no

*There is only one genealogy of the Maoris, that I know of, in which Tu-tarangi is shown, but he is there placed in much too modern times. That it is the same man is, I think, proved by the fact that Te Irapanga is shown to be his grandfather, whilst the Rarotonga lines make him to be Tu-tarangi's father.

mention of any of the groups of Eastern Polynesia, in connection with their migrations—we only now meet with their names for the first time.

We know so little of Tongan history that nothing of great importance can be adduced in support of the supposition that at this time (A.D. 450) the group was first peopled. And yet, the few notices there are on the subject, outside the Rarotonga history, seems to indicate that this must have been about the time of the colonization of Tonga-tapu, and that it was this Maori-Rarotongan people who were found in possession when a later migration from Samoa took place. It is certain, however, that in the time of Tu-tarangi's grandson, or great-grandson, that part of the Maori-Rarotongan branch of the race was living in Tonga-tapu, Vavau, and Haapai.

The migration from Samoa to Tonga, alluded to above, took place in the days of Alo-eitu, the second of that name, and the second of the sacred kings, or Tui-Tongas. According to two genealogical tables showing the descent from Alo-eitu to the time of death King George Tubou (1893) the number of generations is 34. Therefore it would have been about the year 1050 that this second element was added to the inhabitants of Tonga-tapu island. These people came from Samoa, and first landed on the east end of the island near Lafonga, where they settled, and there built the celebrated Trilithon called Haamonga, which has remained a puzzle

to later generations. These people, after living there for many years, eventually removed to the east entrance into Mua inlet, and some of them still live there. For the above I am indebted to the Rev. J. E. Moulton of Tonga. This account of the origin of Haamonga differs from that given by Mr. Basil Thompson in "Jour: Anthro: Inst:", vol. xxxii., p. 81, wherein he states on the authority of Mateialonga, Tongan Governor of Haabai, that the Trilithon was built in the times of Tui-ta-tui, or *circa* 1275 (according to my method of deducing dates—Mr. Thompson says, about the latter half of the fourteenth century).

The late Judge Te Pou-o-te-rangi of Rarotonga told me in 1897, that previous to a visit he had made to Tonga and Samoa a few years previously, the late Te Ariki-taraare, last high priest of Rarotonga, told him that the Haamonga Trilithon was built in the times of Makea Karika (of Samoa and Rarotonga), or *circa* 1250, and that the latter had had a hand in the work.

These various statements are too conflicting to be reconciled, and the probability is that we shall never know the origin of this structure, any more than that at Stonehenge.

The Rarotonga histories say that, in consequence of the wars originated by Kuru, Taakura and Ari, the people spread out (from Fiji) to all the islands—to Avaiki-runga (Eastern Polynesia), Iti-nui (Great Fiji), Iti-rai (Large

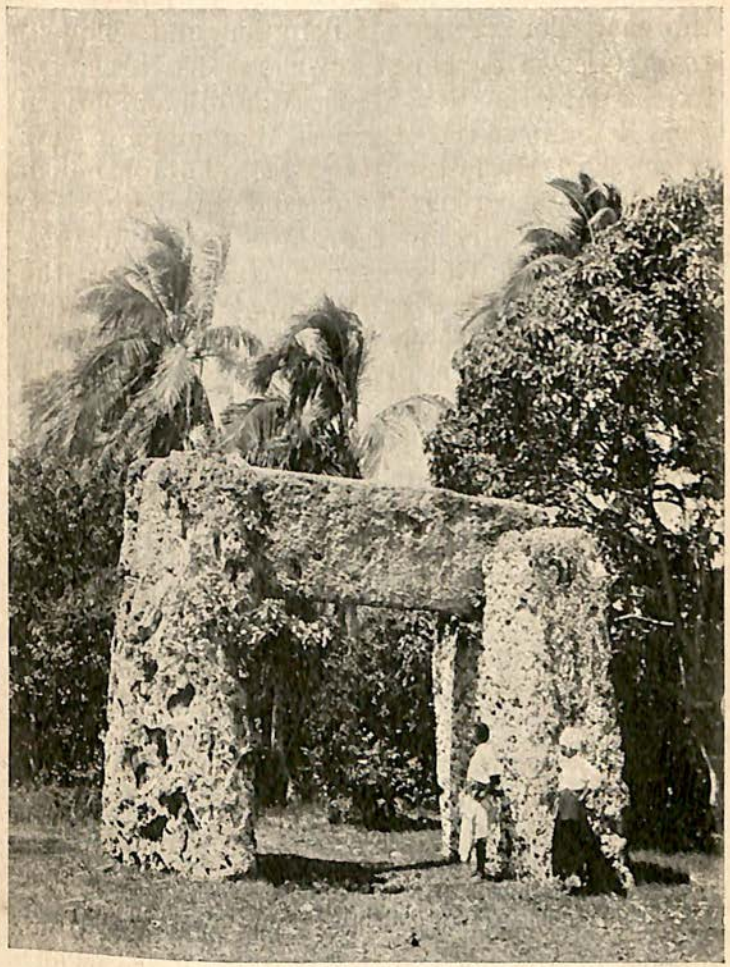


Photo by J. P McArthur, Esq.

The Trilithon at Haamonga, Tonga.

Fiji), Iti-anaunau, Iti-takai-kere, Tonga-nui (or Tonga-tapu), Tonga-ake (probably East Tonga), Tonga-piritia, Tonga-manga, Tonga-raro (Leeward Tonga, perhaps Eua Island), Tonga-anue, Avaiki-raro (Savāi'i), Kuporu (Upolu), Manuka (Manu'a), Vavau, Niua-pou (Niua-fou), Niua-taputapu (Keppel's Island), etc. Many of these Tonga islands cannot be recognised under the names here given, but they are most likely Rarotongan names for the several islands around Haapai and between there and Tonga-tapu.

It was during this period, when the people occupied the Fiji Group, and were spreading gradually to Samoa and Tonga, that flourished the Polynesian hero Tinirau, about whom there are quite a number of legends. The Native History of Rarotonga contains one version of this series, and from it we learn that Tinirau lived in Iti-takai-kere, one of the Fiji Islands, but which cannot now be determined. Here he married Tu-kai-tamanu's daughter Te Mūmū-ikurangi. After a time, Tinirau removed to Upolu, and here is laid the scene with Kae, a chief of Savāi'i, well known in Maori history, and referred to in Samoan traditions. The marvellous enters this story, as it does with nearly all those of the heroes of this epoch. Tinirau possessed an island called Motu-tapu, which at his bidding moved from place to place, besides some wonderful object endowed with the powers of Aladdin's lamp. It is clear, however, that Tinirau was an historical personage, and

the Maoris trace descent from him. He was "a chief of great power and beauty and of great fame in ancient days; whilst numerous wonders were due to his action. He possessed a famous fish-pond at Upolu, and it was in Upolu also that Ari built his house, of which the pillars were stone, as were the rafters, whilst a stream flowed through it." Ari has been shown to be contemporary with Tu-tarangi (*circa* A.D. 450), and here he is accredited with being the builder of what I believe to be Le Fale-o-le-Fe'e, situated in the mountains behind Apīa, Upolu, the origin of which is not known to the Samoans. It is possibly through Tinirau's connection with this famous fish-pond, called "Nga-tama-ika-a-Tinirau," that he subsequently came to be considered the king of all fish in Mangaian traditions, as related by Dr. Wyatt Gill in his "Myths and Songs from the Pacific." In Maori story, Tinirau is connected with an abundant harvest of fish, which at his order filled all the village in which the scene is laid; but he is not alluded to as the "King of Fish," as in Mangaia.

The next historical note we have is about Renga-ariki, who lived in Fiji. He flourished fifty-three generations ago, or in the time of Tu-tarangi's great-great-grandson, in other words about the year 575. There is a long story about him and his doings, together with those of his wife Kau-oia-ki-te-matanga, but none of historical interest. Renga-ariki's son was Tu-tonga-kai-a-Iti, and he was expelled from

Fiji to Tonga-nui, where he became a ruling chief, "without a god, he himself was his own god." But his brother, Turi-pakea, was a *tangata araara atua*, a worshipper of gods, which gods befriended him in the trouble he got into with his brother Tu-tonga.

In the times of Tu-tonga-kai-a-Iti, who lived in Tonganui, intercourse was frequent with Upolu; we find him sending there a present of *kura* (red feathers) to induce a seer named Tara-mata-kikite to disclose to him the name of the person who had stolen a valued pig, about which there is a long story in the Rarotongan Native History.

The people—the Tonga-Fijians of Samoan story—at this time had evidently spread all over the groups around Fiji, and had occupied Samoa; but I apprehend only the coasts of the latter group. From this period onwards for some twenty-five generations, the intercourse between the Rarotongan ancestors and those of Samoa was close and frequent, for even after the former moved onwards to the east, voyages were constantly made backwards to Samoa, as we shall see. The Samoan traditions very frequently mention the intercourse between Samoa and Fiji, and it seems to me that the Rarotonga traditions explain why this is so, the fact being that the Samoans in visiting Fiji, met with people of their own race, and not the Melanesian Fijians who now occupy that group, otherwise the frequent inter-marriages of Samoans with Fijians noted in the traditions of the former

would shew in the Samoans of to-day, which they do not; there is little or no sign of a Melanesian intermixture.

I take this epoch to be the commencement of that at which, according to Samoan story, the so-called Tongans and Fijians commenced to occupy the coasts of Savāi'i and Upolu, but who were in reality the Maori-Rarotonga branch of the race—who, in alliance with their Tonga relatives, for a long time inhabited parts of Samoa. It is said that the Tongans occupied the south side of Savāi'i, whilst the Fijians resided on the north; and it must have been the same in Upolu, for Samoan story says that the ruins of the stone foundations of the houses, roads, enclosures, etc., in the interior of Upolu are remains of their ancient habitations during the time the Tonga-Fijians occupied the coasts. The close of this occupation was at the time known in Samoan story as that connected with the "Matamatame," when, after the defeat of the Tonga-Fijians at Aleipata, east end of Upolu, and when they were chased along both coasts by Tuna and Fata, chiefs of Samoa, peace was made at the west end of the island, and the King (ruling chief) of Tonga engaged not again to return to Samoa except in peace. It was at this time the first Malie-toa took his name. From a mean of five genealogical tables given by Messrs. Bülow and Stuebel (varying from twenty-five to thirty) from 1900, we may take the period of this Malie-toa as twenty-six generations ago, or about the year 1250. This

occupation of Samoa may therefore be said to have extended over some 550 to 600 years, and a very important period in Polynesian history it was, as we shall see. The year 1250 is about the date of Karika's leaving Samoa to settle in Rarotonga, of which more anon.*

It was probably at the time of this spreading of the people from Fiji to Samoa and Tonga, and when they were in alliance in their occupation of these groups, that they visited other islands to the west, as quoted by Fornander in the following note, vol. i, p. 34: "We now know, from New Caledonian traditions, as reported by Dr. V. de Rochas ('La Nouvelle Caledonie,' etc.), that in olden times joint and singular expeditions of Fijians and Tongans frequently invaded New Caledonia and conquered tracts of land for themselves, and that the higher aristocracy and subordinate chiefs of to-day claim descent from the leaders of these predatory parties; that, owing to this influx, the language possesses a great variety of idioms; that the main stock, however, of the population is of the original Papuan (Melanesian). And, as circumcision is also practised amongst them, it may, for want of more precise knowledge of its origin and introduction there, with great probability be ascribed to that same Tonga-Vitian element." This element is, I think, no

*The incidents connected with this expulsion of the Tonga-Fijians, and the origin of the name Malie-toa, will be seen in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. viii., p. 238.

doubt the Maori-Rarotongan one, that then occupied Fiji.

It is due to this intercourse with New Caledonia no doubt, that the Polynesians became acquainted with the jade which is found there, and also in New Guinea, besides New Zealand. Several writers have referred to the fact of the jade having been found amongst the Polynesians, but my reading has failed to show any positive statement on the subject. At the same time the Rarotongans were acquainted with it, as we shall learn later on, but this came from New Zealand; and quite recently—in 1902—an old jade axe has been dug up on Niue Island. This shows the connection with New Caledonia, as probably does the statement in one of the Maori traditions, to the effect that on the migrations leaving Fiji for the east, some of the canoes "went to the west and they were lost" *i.e.,* no further communication ever took place again with those who went to the east.

During this time of the occupation of the Fiji group, or on the way thither from Indonesia, it is probable that colonies were established in some of the New Hebrides islands, where their descendants, very much crossed with the Melanesian people, are still to be found. Again it is very likely that Tukopia and Taumako islands, near the Santa Cruz group, received their Polynesian inhabitants during this period.

It is very probable that these latter islands are some of those mentioned in the "logs" of the migrations under different names, but which

names cannot now be identified, such as Waerota, Waeroti, Mata-te-ra, etc., for it is clear they were to the north west of Fiji.

In the time of Tu-tonga-kai-a-iti mentioned above, Mataru was *ariki* of Upolu, who was succeeded by his youngest son Te Memeru, whose grandson was Te Emaema-a-rangi, whose son was Emā, the father of Taaki and Karii, very famous ancestors of the Maoris, who name them Tawhaki and Karihi, and who flourished about the year 700.

From about the period of Emā (Maori Hema) commences Maori history. From his sons descend lines of ancestors to people now living in New Zealand, whilst other lines come down to people living both in Rarotonga and Hawaii, and probably in Samoa also. But we have now arrived at a very important epoch in Polynesian history, and it will be necessary to go back for a couple of generations and show in what this importance consists, and consider

The Polynesians as Navigators.

If reference be made to the genealogical table at the end of this book, it will be seen that at fifty generations ago, or about the year 650, there flourished a man named Ui-te-rangiora, who was a contemporary of Ema's father. It was in

Ui-te-rangiora's time that the voyages of discovery emanating from Fiji first began, and many islands were discovered and settled by the people. The following account is condensed from two different narratives in the Native History of Rarotonga which differ somewhat, but the main facts are the same, and by carefully considering them and abstracting the marvellous, we shall find a residue of truth that is real history. At this period the head-quarters of the people was in Fiji, with colonies in the Tonga and Samoa groups, and as appears probable, some of their branches were still living in Indonesia; indeed, the precise statement is made that they did not cease communication with Avaiki-te-varinga, which is probably Java, until the time of Tangiia, or in 1250, when the voyages thither finally ended for ever through causes which will be referred to later on.

Ui-te-rangiora decided on building a *pāi* or great canoe, and *e ivi tangata te rakau i taua pāi* ("men's bones were the wood of that canoe,") the keel of which was name *Te ivi o Atea* ("Atea's bones")—a name which the canoe appears also to have borne. I am inclined to think that the interpretation of this curious statement is that bones of their enemies were used in part of the construction or ornamentation of the vessel, in the same manner as men's bones (enemies) are used in making spears, fish-hooks, etc. This was done by way of insult, and for fear of this occurring the bones of great

chiefs were always hidden away most carefully by persons specially selected, and who could be relied on to keep the secret. To complete this celebrated vessel a sacred tree called Te Tamoko-o-te-Rangi was felled, and part of it made into drums,* *tapa*-beating logs, and boards. This sacrilege led to a war between Ui-te-rangiora and the owners of the tree, the descendants of Taakura and Ari mentioned before, and a determination on the part of many to emigrate to other parts. Hence resulted a final severance of some of the people from the main stock, who settled on many other islands to the east.

At the time when the second edition of this book was published, I had no idea that this celebrated navigator was known to Maori tradition. But I have since obtained from a most reliable source the following, which is satisfactory as confirming the Rarotongan account, though the Maori version places Hui-te-rangiora's voyages at an earlier period than do the former. The following is the tradition, now for the first time published.

After explaining that Ngana was the head chief of Irihia, or Hawaiki-nui, who married Tangi-te-ruru, a high born chieftainess who came from a land called Uru, distant from Irihia, (which may be identified with the very ancient land Ulu-nui, supposed by Fornander,

*"Drums used at the installation of the chiefs at Avarua."

vol. i., p. 134, to be identical with Ur of Chaldea), the tradition gives the names of their children as 1 Atia-nui-ariki, 2 Tipua Hawaiki, 3 Kahu-kura-Rongomai, 4 Kopu-tauaki, 5 Puku-puku, 6 Te Rangi-taku-ariki. Now, turning to the head of the table at the end of this volume it will be seen that with slight variations three of these are the children of Tumu, and Papa, and therefore Ngana, may be another name for Tumu, or, it may be Te Nga-taito-ariki the ruler of Atia.

After briefly referring to a great war with the people of the land of Uru, which led to the three migrations referred to under the heading "Irihia" (see *ante*), the tradition says that Hui-te-rangiora had two brothers, Tu-te-rangi-atea and Whenua-haere, and that when the former had come to man's estate, he built a very large canoe named "Tuahiwi-o-Atea" (Te Iwi-o-Atea in the Rarotongan account), and migrated from his home in her accompanied by six other canoes, whose names were "Te Karearea," "Uru," "Kuranui," and "Te Moana-taupuru," (two other names being lost) in consequence of wars. It then describes the islands they went to, and particularly mentions that Tu-te-rangi-atea, Hui-te-rangiora's brother, became exceedingly expert at canoe and house building, and that it was he who first reached the Hawaiki (Tahiti) from whence the Maori ancestor came to New Zealand. That he also built a great house at an island near

Hawaiki for the priests and the gods, which he named Rangi-atea, a name by which the island subsequently became known, and to which Whatonga and Tu-rahui were blown in subsequent times, not long before the great migration to New Zealand. This island is now known as Ra'iatea of the Society Group. It is very satisfactory to find this confirmation of Rarotongan history in Maori tradition, and again shows the reliance to be placed on them. In all probability the great house built at Ra'iatea was the *marae* at Opoa, celebrated all over Eastern Polynesia as the sacred meeting place of all the tribes of those parts.

This was the commencement of the great voyages of the Rarotongans and Maoris, during the continuance of which they—in the words of the history—"visited every place on earth," and they became "a people accomplished in navigating vessels." Of course we must read "every place on earth" as the world known to the Polynesians of that age, which from the names of places given below, embraced a very large portion of the Pacific. I do not suppose that Ui-te-rangiora visited or discovered all the islands named, but it is clear from references in other accounts that he discovered a large number of them. The statement is made that when a canoe rotted, others were built, so it would seem that the voyages extended over very many years.

The following is the list of lands discovered or visited at this period:—

Te Ravaki		Tangi-te-pu		Rapa-iti (Opara Island)
Rangi-raro		Rara		
Mata-te-ra		Avaiki		Teni-te-ia
Nu-kare	New Hebrides	Kuporu	Samoa	Pa-pua
Nu-takoto		Te Tuira		Au-taria-nui
Nu-taara		Manuka		Au-taria-iti
Nu-mare		Tokerau		Kateta-nui
Nu-pango		Uru-pukapuka-nui		Kateta-iti
Nu-iti		Uru-pukapuka-iti		Panipani-maata-one-okotai
Nu-amo		Enua-kura		
Iti-nui	Fiji Group?	Iva-nui	Marquesas	Avaiki-tautau (New Zealand)
Iti-rai		Iva-rai		Vaerota
Iti-anaunau		Iva-te-pukenga		Kurupongia
Iti-takai-kere		Te Kirikiri		Matietio
Pa-pua		Te Rauao		

Vaii	Hawaii Group	Te-Mae-a-tupa	Pau-motu
Tavai		Rau-maika-nui	
Nngangai		Rau-maika-iti	
Maro-ai		Ngana	
Tonga-nui	Tonga Group	Te Paumotu (*katoa-toa* = all)	
Tonga-ake			
Tonga-pirita		Akaau	
Tonga-manga		Taiti	Society Is.
Tonga-raro		Morea	
Avaiki-raro		Rangi-atea	
Nu-taata		Uaine	
Ma-reva		Taanga	
Pia (? Tukopia)		Porapora	Austral Isles
Uea (Wallis Island)		Rurutu	
Raro-ata		Pa-pau	
Amama		Rima-tara	
Tuna (Futuna)		Mauke	Cook's Group
Rangi-arara		Motia-aro	
Rotuma		Atiu	
Vavau		Auau	
Niva-pou (Niuafou)		Rarotonga	
Atu-aapai (Haapai)		Then to windward to Rapa-nui (Easter Island)	

This long list of islands winds up with the statement, "others remain, the greater part is not written." A large number of the islands cannot be recognised, as the names are old ones, not now in use, but others are easily identified. We see that these voyages extended, according to the list from New Zealand to the Hawaii Islands, some 4000 miles, and from (probably) the New Hebrides to Easter Island, about 5,000 miles, besides voyages back to Avaiki in Indonesia, a far greater distance. The islands mentioned in the Hawaiian Group are Vaii (Hawaii, Vaihi being its Tahitian name, and Waihi its Maori name), Tavai, which is Kauai (spelled Tauai until early in last century), Ngangai, which I have shown to be Lanai, and Maro-ai, which I take to be Molokai, but neither Maui nor Oahu are mentioned. Au-taria-nui and Au-taria-iti I do not recognise, but they are islands apparently in the Western Pacific, which the Rarotongans were in the habit of visiting so late as the thirteenth century. Mareva is probably one of the islands mentioned in the Marquesan traditions as one of the stopping-places on their migration from the west, but which island it is now impossible to say.

The period at which the Hawaiian Islands were first settled as deduced from Fornander's data is the year 650. According to Rarotonga history, this is the exact date at which the voyages under Ui-te-rangiora commenced. The traditions of the two branches of the race therefore confirm one another in a remarkable

manner, for it is shown above that Hawaii was one of the group visited or discovered at this time. It follows from this that the original Hawaiians are a branch of these Maori-Rarotongans.

New Zealand is mentioned in the list of places visited, and the question arises, did any of the visitors remain there? It is now well known that this country had a considerable population before the arrival of the fleet in 1350, who were divided into tribes, the names alone of which are retained, the people having been absorbed to a large extent by the newcomers. But the genealogical tables of these New Zealand *tangata whenua* (or aborigines) are not all satisfactory, from want of the means of checking them. Toi-kai-rakau can be shown to have lived by the mean of a large number of tables, at thirty-one generations ago, or about 1150. From him, back to the earliest known ancestor of the *tangata whenua* who lived in this country, the most reliable table gives twelve generations, or forty-two in all from the year 1900. In other words, they carry us back to the year 850 about, at which time Ti-wakawaka was visited by a voyager named Maku, who came to New Zealand from Mata-ora. This is 200 years after the period of Ui-te-rangiora, when the epoch of long voyages set in, and it would seem probable that during this 200 years the first immigrants settled themselves in New Zealand.

Of the other islands of the Pacific which were first settled at this time, we have so little

information as to their histories that nothing can be stated with certainty. It is probable that Easter Island was colonised about this period, and that the Marquesas received accessions to the population, if they were not for the first time then occupied, which I think is most probable. We have seen from a former page that at forty-two generations ago (or in 850) the Tahitian groups had people living on them, and most likely they were colonised at about the period of Ui-te-rangiora's voyages, or in 650, as related a few pages back.

All of the voyages indicated above, and others to be referred to later on, may cause surprise at their extent, but they were made in the tropical regions of the world, with numerous islands on the way, at which the voyagers could rest and replenish their stores. But I now come to one made by this daring navigator, Ui-te-rangiora, in his celebrated canoe Te Ivi-o-Atea, which outshines all the others, and shows him to have been a man worthy of taking his place amongst many of our own most fearless navigators of ages long subsequent to the seventh century. In the history of Te Aru-tanga-nuku, who in his time was also a great voyager, we find the following: "The desire of the *ariki* Te Aru-tanga-nuku and all his people on the completion of the canoe, was to behold all the wonderful things seen by those of the vessel Te Ivi-o-Atea in former times. These were those wonderful things:—the rocks that grow

out of the sea, in the space* beyond Rapa†; the monstrous seas; the female that dwells in those mountainous waves, whose tresses wave about in the waters and on the surface of the sea; and the frozen sea of *pia,* with the deceitful animal of that sea who dives to great depths—a foggy, misty, and dark place not seen by the sun. Other things are like rocks, whose summits pierce the skies, they are completely bare and without any vegetation on them." The above is as literal a translation as I can make, and the meaning is quite clear; that the bare rocks that grow out of the frozen sea are the icebergs of the Antarctic; the tresses that float on the monstrous waves are the long leaves of the bull-kelp—over 50 feet long—quite a new feature to a people who dwelt in the tropics, where there is nothing of the kind; the deceitful animal that dives so deep, is the walrus or the sea-lion or sea-elephant. The frozen ocean is expressed by the term *Te tai-uka-a-pia,* in which *tai* is the sea, *uka,* (Maori *huka*) is ice, *a pia* means—*a,* as, like, after the manner of; *pia,* the arrowroot, which when scraped is exactly like snow, to which this simple people compared it as the only or best simile known to them. Now, the Antarctic ice is to be found south of Rapa, in

*The word "space" here is in Rarotongan *area,* almost exactly our own word for space.

†Rapa, or Oparo, an island in latitude 28° south, about 1100 miles S.E. of Rarotonga, and which was formerly thickly inhabited by Polynesians, who had *pas* like the Maoris, the only place in the Pacific where they exist outside New Zealand.

about latitude 50° in the summer time, and consequently both Ui-te-rangiora and Te Aru-tanganuku at different times (250 years apart) must have gone to those high latitudes, as the story says, "to see the wonders of the ocean."

Since the above account of these Antarctic voyages was written in 1897—I have come across a further confirmation of the story. When relating my visit to Eastern Polynesia to the Maoris of the Nga-Rauru tribe, west coast, New Zealand, I was asked if I had also visited that part of the ocean where their traditions state that the seas run mountains high, coming along in three great waves at a time, and where dwelt the monster, the Maraki-hau. Now, the Maraki-hau is a well-known figure depicted on ancient Maori carvings, and the origin of which has much exercised our ethnologists; it has the body and face of a man, but the lower half is a fish's body and tail,—in fact, it is just like a merman. But it has in addition, two long tusks coming out of its mouth which the Maoris call *ngongo,* (or tubes), these are as long as from the mouth to the waist of the figure. To my mind this is the Maori representation of the walrus, or sea-elephant, which they could see only in high latitudes. The old man who questioned me on the subject, clearly had it in his mind that the Maraki-hau dwelt in that mysterious part of the world from whence their ancestors came to New Zealand. It would seem that this confirms the Rarotongan story.

The Tongans have also some tradition of the ice-covered ocean, which they call Tai-fatu, which means the thick fat-like or congealed ocean, and to which some of their ancestors had been in long ages ago. This I learn from the Rev. J. E. Moulton, the best living authority on Tongan traditions.

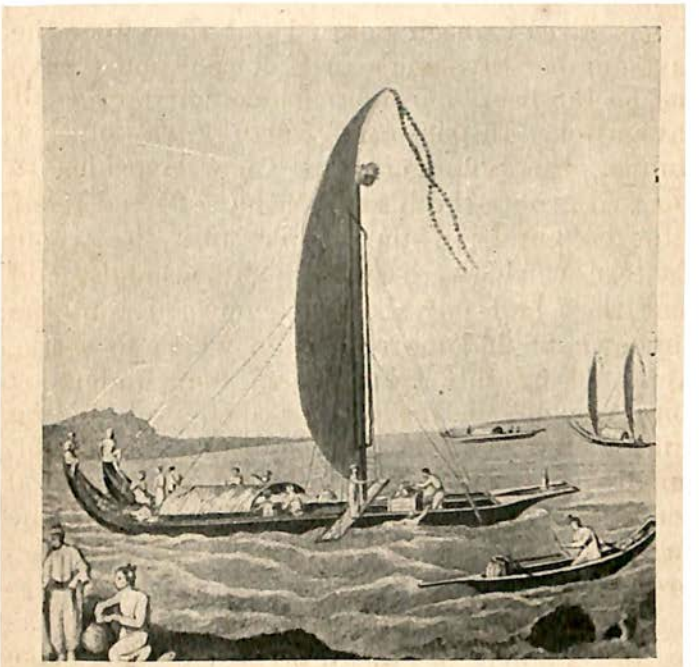
Who, after this, will deny to the Polynesians the honour that is their due as skilful and daring navigators? Here we find them boldly pushing out into the great unknown ocean in their frail canoes, actuated by the same love of adventure and discovery that characterises our own race. Long before our ancestors had learnt to venture out of sight of land, these bold sailors had explored the Antarctic seas, and traversed the Pacific ocean from end to end. Considering the means at their command—their lightly-built canoes (sewn together with sinnet), the difficulty of provisioning the crew, the absence of any instruments to guide them—I feel justified in claiming for these bold navigators as high a place in the honour-roll as many of our own distinguished Arctic or Antarctic explorers.

Many people have doubted the ability of the Polynesians to make the lengthy voyages implied in finding the race in places so widely separated as Hawaii, Easter Island, New Zealand, and the N.W. Pacific south of the line. But we cannot doubt the very definite statements made in their traditions. The love of adventure, of moving about from place to place, which is so characteristic of the race even in

these days, has always been a feature in their lives. More often than not they made these adventurous voyages with the definite object of establishing new colonies in which to settle, taking with them their *Lares* and *Penates,* their domestic animals, seeds, plants, and families. It has already been pointed out the effect the vast number of islands in Indonesia must have had on the people, in increasing their powers of navigation. In passing onward by way of New Guinea, the Solomons, and New Hebrides to the Fiji group, the idea must have forced itself into the minds of the people, that the whole Eastern world was covered with islands, and that they had only to move onward into the unknown to find more land on which to settle. Actuated by this ruling idea, they undertook long voyages in the assured belief of finding land. Many of their expeditions, no doubt, failed in the end they sought, and disappeared for ever. We don't hear of them; it is the successful voyages of which a record has been preserved.

Much of the doubt that has been expressed as to the ability of the Polynesians to make lengthy voyages, is due to the fact that the canoes they now use are supposed to be the same in which these long voyages were undertaken. But this is not the case. It is quite clear that much larger and better sea-going vessels were formerly employed. The *pahi, pora, taurūa, purua,* etc., were large canoes, generally double, with a platform between them, and very

often carrying a small house built on the platform. Besides the express statement in some of the traditions as to the use of double canoes, it is probable that all those that made the voyage from the Central Pacific to New



From Cook's Voyages.
Double Canoe of Ra'iatea in 1769.

Zealand were double, or were large canoes with outriggers, which gave them a much greater stability. Even so late as 1830 the double canoe has been used in New Zealand, and there are a few specimens still to be seen in the Islands. The following is a description of the

old Samoan double canoe as supplied by one who had seen them:—

The *alia* is a double canoe and is described by Mr. Kennison, a boat-builder in Savāi'i. "The bigger canoe of the two is sometimes as much as one hundred and fifty feet in length; each end tapers out to nothing; the second canoe is not nearly so long as the first. They sail fast, and like the Malay proas, do not go about in beating, but the sheet of the sail is shifted from bow to stern instead. There is a platform built between the two canoes, and both ends are decked over for some distance—on the platform a house* is usually erected. These double canoes will turn to windward very well. The canoes are built up of many slabs joined together with great neatness, and each plank is sewn to the next one with sinnet, which passes through holes bored in a raised edge on the inside of each plank." It was in this kind of cānoe that the voyages of the Samoans and Tongans were made, and so far as can be ascertained, the *pāi* (Maori *pahi*) of the Rarotongans in which they made the lengthy voyages we shall read about shortly, were of the same description.

Other accounts obtained in Samoa say that the *alia* was a Tongan design originally, and that the Samoans copied it from them. Again,

*Called in Rarotonga an *orau*, which is also the name of the shed in which the big canoes were kept on the beach. *Cf*: with *orau*, the Samoan *folau*, a ship; to go on a voyage; and Maori *wharau*, a shed; originally a canoe-shed; also Hawaiian *halau* a canoe-shed.

it is said that the Tongans derived their model of the canoe from Fiji, which brings us back to this: that it probably originated with the ancestors of Maori and Rarotongan. The ancient canoe of the Samoans was called a *soatau,* and was made out of the large trunk of a tree; it was connected with the *ama* or outrigger by five *'iato* or arms. The *ama-tele* or *va'a-tele* was also a large canoe of ancient times. Descriptions

Photo by Dr. B. Friedlaender.

The 'Alia, or Double Canoe of Samoa.

of these canoes are not now to be obtained; but, in connection with the extensive voyages of the Polynesians in former times, it is something to know the names of them, and that there were such craft, though it seems probable that the Samoans were not such great voyagers as other branches of the race. In the Rev. J. B. Stair's most interesting paper on "Samoan Voyages"* he has assumed all through that the voyages

*Journal Polynesian Society, vol. iv., p. 99.

therein related were made by Samoans. It will appear later on that these people were not Samoans—properly so called—but the ancestors of Maoris and Rarotongans, who formed, as I believe, a distinct migration into the Pacific, and who, at the times of those voyages were in occupation of the coastal lands of Samoa.

There is still in existence at Atiu Island, Cook group, one of the large *pai* (Maori *pahi*) used in the voyages made by the people to neighbouring groups. And two were in existence in Samoa in 1897. Ellis* describes some of the large double canoes of the Tahitians as in use in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, as being each 50 to 70 feet long, 2 feet wide and 4 feet deep, also the war canoes 60 feet long, double, with covered ends, platforms, etc., and capable of carrying fifty fighting men. He adds in a note, "In Captain Cook's Voyages, a description is given of one 108 feet long." He also refers to the *va'a-motu,* or island canoe, a large strong single vessel, with outrigger, used in distant voyages. They carried two masts, the sails being made—as is usual—of matting and of the common triangular shape, the apex being below. He says, "In long voyages the single canoes are considered safer than the double ones, as the latter are sometimes broken asunder and then become unmanageable." At page 181 (*loc. cit.*) he says, "The natives of the Eastern islands (Pau-motu group) frequently come down to the

*Polynesian Researches, vol. p. 164 *et seq.* First edition 1829.

Society Islands in large double canoes which the Tahitians dignify with the name of *pahi* the (modern) name for a ship. They are built with much smaller pieces of wood than those employed in the structure of the Tahitian canoes, as the low coralline islands produce but very small kinds of timber, yet they are much superior both for strength, convenience, and for sustaining a tempest at sea. They are always double, and one canoe has a permanent covered residence for the crew. The two masts are also stationary, and a kind of ladder or wooden shroud extends from the sides to the head of the mast. . . . One canoe that brought over a chief from Rurutu (Austral group, south of Tahiti) upwards of 300 miles, was very large. It was somewhat in the shape of a crescent, the stem and stern high and pointed, and the sides deep; the depth from the upper edge of the middle to the keel, was not less than 12 feet. It was built of thick planks of the *Barringtonia*, some of which were four feet wide; they were sewn together with coconut sinnet, and although they brought the chief safely probably more than 600 miles, they must have been ungovernable and unsafe in a storm or heavy sea." The high stem and stern in this case would be a cause of unsafety, but the old form of *pahi* in which the ancestors of Maori and Rarotongan made their voyages, were not, I believe, ornamented in the same manner, or at least not to so large an extent.

In the matter of sea provisions, the Polynesians had plenty. The bread fruit, when in the form of *masi,* which was a kind of cooked paste, would keep, under favourable conditions for more than a year. Coconuts again contained both food and drink, whilst water was carried in bamboos. The Rev. J. B. Stair* states, "In reply to my enquiry (of the Samoans) whether they did not often run short of water, they have astonished me by telling me that the early voyagers always took a supply of leaves of a certain kind of herb or plant, as a means of lessening thirst. * * * By chewing the leaves of this plant they declared that, to a certain extent, they could drink salt water with some kind of impunity and thus assuage thirst. I made very many unsuccessful attempts to obtain the name of this shrub and ascertain its character. * * * they themselves said that they did not now (1838-40) know it, as the custom had grown into disuse, but they were confident it had prevailed in the past when voyages were more frequently made by their ancestors."

The preserved *kumara* (Maori name *kao*) would also furnish provisions for a voyage that will keep well; and in the voyages made from New Zealand to the Central Pacific, the fern root made into cakes, or in the state of root, would also furnish a food capable of lasting a long time without perishing. No doubt, in some

*Jour: Poly: Soc: vol. iv., p. 109.

of their lengthy voyages, sea-stores sometimes ran short; this is clear from the account of the voyage of the Taki-tumu canoe to New Zealand *circa* 1350, where the sufferings of the crews and the expedients resorted to are alluded to. Again in the voyage of the Moriori ancestors from New Zealand to the Chatham Islands, the same troubles, due to the want of water, are clearly indicated in the narrative.

Another kind of food used in their lengthy voyages has been referred to under the heading of "Irihia" (*ante*) as *arai-toto-kore,* which was said to keep for lengthened periods—what it was is not at present known, but as it was used in their most ancient voyages through Indonesia, it may be assumed to have been some manufactured article, possibly preserved bananas (which will keep well), or even sago, or, it may have been rice.

It is well known to all acquainted with the Polynesians, that they had a very complete knowledge of the heavens, and the movements of the stars, etc., to all the prominent ones of which they gave names. In the accounts of the coming of the six canoes to New Zealand in the fourteenth century, we have references to the stars by which they steered, and the course given as "to the right hand of the point where the sun, the moon, and Venus set in the summer time," which is the correct course from Tahiti to New Zealand. That they were acquainted with the fact of the appearance of the Heavens changing as the observer moved either north or

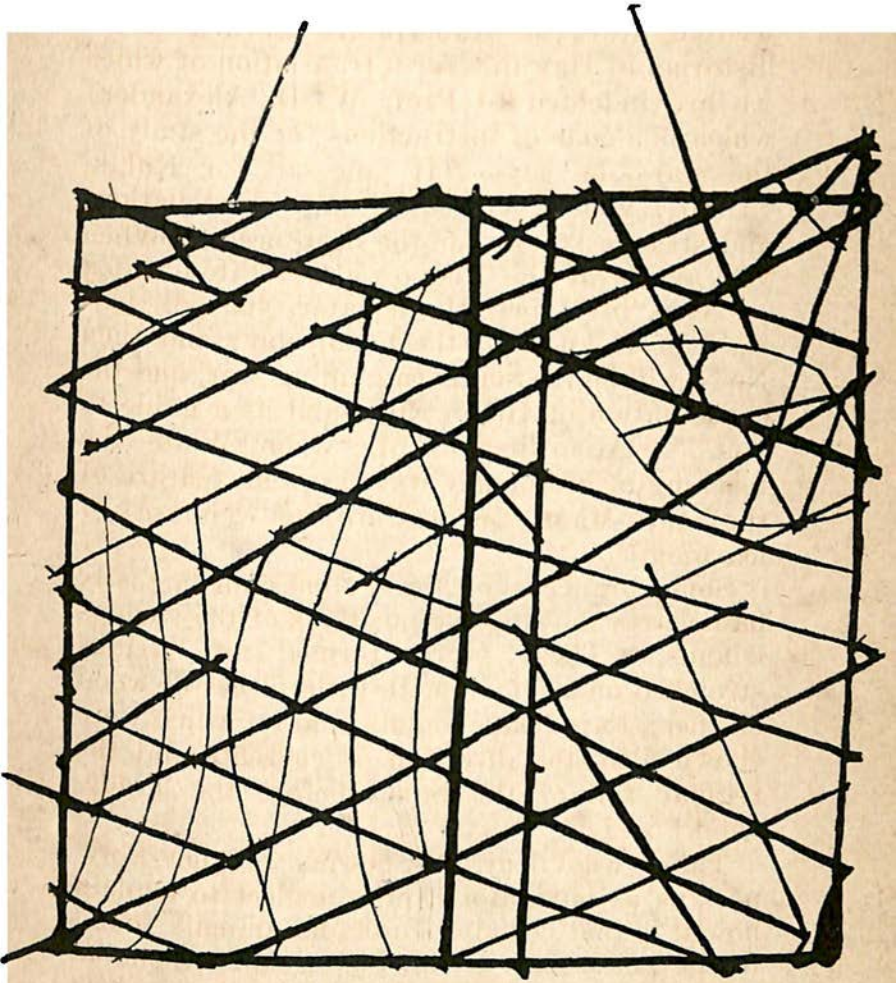
south is proved by the following: In a paper written by S. M. Kamakau, a learned native historian of Hawaii, (for a translation of which we are indebted to Prof. W. D. Alexander) which is a code of instructions for the study of the stars, he says, "If you sail for Kahiki (Tahiti) you will discover new constellations and strange stars over the deep ocean. When you arrive at the Piko-o-wakea (Pito-o-watea or Atea, in Maori) the equator, you will lose sight of Hoku-paa, (the north star) and then Newe will be the southern guiding star, and the constellation of Humu will stand as a guide to you."* According to Mr. John White the teaching of astronomy was a special feature of the old Maori *whare-kura* or "house of learning."

Some branches of the Polynesians actually had charts showing the positions of the various islands. These were formed of strings stretched on a frame, with little pieces of wood on them, to indicate islands, and on which were shown also, the direction of currents and the regular roll of the waves before the Trade-wind.†

Those who deny the powers of the Polynesians as navigators, quite neglect to explain how it is that certain plants and animals, found in the possession of the Polynesians when the first intercourse with Europeans took place

*"Hawaiian Annual" for 1891.

†See an illustration of one of these, Jour: Poly: Soc: vol. iv., p. 236 from which ours is taken.



Polynesian Chart, shewing directions of winds, waves, islands, &c.

within the last two or three hundred years, came to be naturalised in the places they were, and are, found. It is quite clear they are not native; and the instrumentality of man is the only scientific way of accounting for their presence.

When making voyages to a high island, or a large one, the difficulty of a land fall is not great. But it is different in the case of the atolls, of which there are so many in the Central Pacific. The system which was adopted in such cases was this: The people generally voyaged in fleets for mutual help and company, and when they expected to make the land at some of these tiny and low islands the fleet spread out in the form of a crescent, the chief's canoe in the centre, to distances of about five miles apart on each side, so as to extend their view—whichever crew saw the land first, signalled their neighbours, who passed the signal on, and so on, till the whole fleet were enabled to steer for the expected land. A fleet of 10 canoes would thus have a view of over fifty miles on their front.

We have in the record of one of the Rarotongan Tangiia's voyages, the fact stated that he missed his destination (Rarotonga) and passed much too far to the south, and that he discovered this fact by the great coldness of the sea. He then about-ship, and sailing north, found the island he was in search of.

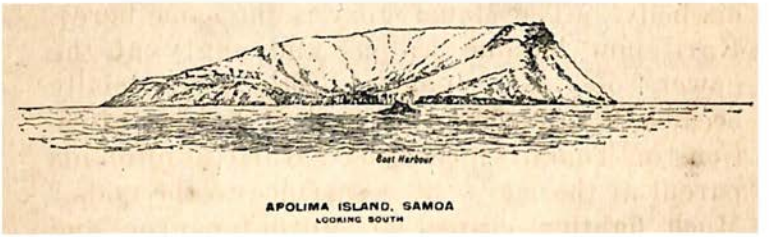
From the times of Ui-te-rangiora (*circa* 650) to those of the last settlement on Rarotonga in 1250, the history is full of references to voyages to all parts of the Central Pacific and Hawaii.

There was constant movement to and fro, showing the truth of the native historian when he says, "they became able navigators." But it would appear that it was not until towards the close of this period that the voyagers ceased to visit Fiji and the neighbouring groups, as well as Indonesia, and the cause for this is, I suggest, the growing importance of the Melanesian element in the Fijian group. But we are anticipating, and must now return to the period of Emā and his descendants (*circa* 700).

Occurrences in the Fiji, Samoa, and Haapai Groups.

We have now followed the Rarotongan histories down to a point when Maori and Moriori traditions begin to shed their light on the course of events, for the occupation of the Fiji and Samoan groups is their "Heroic Period," when flourished so many of their heroes whose deeds are embodied in tradition and song, and which form the classics of their branch of the race. Full as the accounts of this period are of the marvellous, the historical parts may easily be sifted out. Such as they are, they are probably not more full of the supernatural or wonderful than the old world classics of the Greeks and others. They carry us back to much the same culture-level depicted in the Iliad, and other works of that and succeeding ages, where the gods took part in the affairs of man.

By both Maori and Rarotonga histories Emā (Hema) was the father of the two brothers Karii (Karihi) and Taaki (Tawhaki). It will be seen by the general table at the end of this work that Rarotonga lines of ancestors come down through Karii, whilst the Maori lines as a rule descend from Tawhaki. In accordance with this, the Rarotonga traditions make Karii the eldest son, and most important *ariki* of the two; it is just the contrary with the Maoris, with whom Tawhaki is the elder brother and the



APOLIMA ISLAND, SAMOA
LOOKING SOUTH

ariki, a piece of national pride on the part of both branches of the race. Apparently the Rarotongans trace no descent from Tawhaki, though many Maoris do. I have already pointed out that Rarotonga history makes Taaki to have flourished forty-eight generations ago, whilst the Maori table published in the Journal Poly: Soc: vol. vii., p. 40, makes him to have lived fifty generations ago, by taking the date of Turi as twenty-two generations ago. We may therefore fix the date of Tawhaki as about the year 700.

The Rarotonga stories of these two heroes are similar in most respects to those of the Maoris, whilst they differ in detail. Their mother,

(according to the first) was Ua-uri-raka-moana. On one occasion she commanded Karii to perform an operation on her head, which Karii refused to do. She then said, "My son thou shall not remain an *ariki*. Thou shalt serve!" Taaki was then directed to do the same thing. He did so; and after retiring to his own district of Murei-tangaroa, it was not long before great power (*mana*) entered suddenly into him, and soon the news spread that the country was illuminated by him, the lightning flashing from his body. (The Maori story is the same here). Karii now became jealous and angry at the power of his younger brother, especially because their father Emā had turned his affections on Taaki, which caused Karii to offer his parent at the *marae* as a sacrifice to the gods.* Much fighting ensued at Murei-tangaroa and Murei-kura, two mountains where Taaki's home was, in which his sisters Inano-mata-kopikopi and Puapua-ma-inano took part. After this Taaki is invited to bathe in Vaiporutu stream where he is killed by Karii, but is brought to life again by the incantations of his sisters. Then he decides to go in search of his father Emā, and is warned of the dangers on the way by his mother, the dangers consisting of some *vaine taae,* wild or fierce women, called "Ngatikoma." Taaki now proceeds to the Nu-roa-i-Iti, where the *vaine taae* are anxious to secure

*So the Native history seems to read; but it is an extraordinary statement, and contrary, I think, to Polynesian custom for parents ever to be offered in sacrifice.

him as a husband, but he is directed on his course by another woman, Apai-ma-mouka,* to Tangaroa-akaputu-ara—who has his father's body. Further on he meets another lady, who advises him to hasten, as the gods are already collecting firewood to roast his father. Taaki finally succeeds in obtaining his father's body, after defeating a number of *atua* or gods, besides bringing back with him several valuables, the names of which do not help us to ascertain what they were. The story of Taaki ends here. It is much like that of the Maoris, except that the latter mentions in song and story the ascent of Tawhaki to heaven by the *toi-mau*—a special kind of connection between heaven and earth—where he meets Whaitiri or Kui the blind woman,† and obtains his wife Hapai. This ascent, according to Rarotonga story, is by or to the Nu-roa-i-Iti, which seems to be the name of a place in Fiji. The tall coconut at Fiji, is the translation.

In considering the many versions of this story of Tawhaki as preserved by the Maoris, and more especially in one collected by the late John White, wherein are mentioned the names of Savāi'i, Upōlu, and Tutuila, and the wars in which Tawhaki engaged there, it has always been my idea that this marvellous ascent into

*The Maori name of Tawhaki's wife is Hapai, or Hapai-maunga, clearly the same as the above.

†This story of Kui-the-blind, in Rarotonga tradition, forms part of that relating to Tane, a hero who flourished in the Fiji group, not to that of Taaki, (or Tawhaki).

heaven after his father's bones was in prosaic reality, merely the climbing up a mountain-cliff by means of a rope amongst an alien people, who had killed his father.* I would suggest that it was to one of the Fijian islands that Tawhaki went, either when residing in Fiji or in Samoa, and that the *atuas* and the *vaine taae* here, are merely the Melanesians, who at this period occupied parts of the group. Taaki, by both Rarotonga and Maori story, was a very handsome man; hence the *vaine taae* (Melanesian women ?) desired him.

In connection with this mountain—if it were such—where the gods lived, reference should be made to Mr. Basil Thompson's account of the first occupation of Fiji by the Melanesians, and his description of Nakauvandra mountain in Viti-levu as the home of Fijian gods, and especially of Ndengei, a name which is supposed to be the Fijian equivalent Tangaroa† in whose keeping (see above) were the bones of Taaki's father. Tawhaki, under the form Tafa'i is known to Samoan tradition, and from its surroundings, the story is evidently very ancient. The following is the story as I learnt it from Sapōlu, of Matautu, near Apia, Mr. Churchill translating.

"The Samoans sprang from two girls, Langi and Langi. These two women were swept away

*Miss Teuira Henry tells me the Tahitians have much the same story of Tafa'i (Tawhaki); that he ascended a mountain where dwelt the gods—which mountain the Tahitians have localized at Te Mehani in Raiatea island.

†Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. i., p. 143.

by a great wave of the sea, but they secured a plank of a canoe, on which they floated away and finally reached Manu'a. It is not known where the girls came from. At Manu'a was an *aitu* or god named Sa-le-vao. The girls said to him, *Ta fia ola,** 'I wish to live' (a prayer). Sa-le-vao came down to the beach where the girls were and said, 'Where do you two come from?' 'We two were swept away from the north (*itu mātū*); our land is altogether scattered.' Sa-le-vao then spat at the girls, at which they said, 'Spit towards the heavens' (*anu i langi*). (This is an expression still used. If anyone treats another disrespectfully, it is the usual and proper thing to say).

"Tangaloa-a-langi saw what was going on from his place in the eighth heaven, and he said to his son, '*Alu ifo,* go down and bring the girls up here.' Tafa'i was the son of Tangaloa-a-langi. He went down and brought the girls up. As he was doing so, Sa-le-vao pursued them, and on reaching the eighth heaven he found the girls staying in Tangaloa's house. The latter said to Sa-le-vao, 'Make haste and go down; wait down there until morning and then we will fight it out.' So Sa-le-vao returned below, and the next day Tangaloa went down and fought with Sa-le-vao and killed him. One of the girls Langi married Tangaloa-a-langi, the other Tafa'i. They all came down from heaven and lived on earth at Manu'a. The girls gave birth to

*Ta is an old form of the first person singular "I."

sons—the wife of Tangaloa had Tūtu, Tafa'i's wife Ila. Then were born U and Polu, and Saa and Uii. Then Tangaloa-a-langi made his *tofinga,* or appointment of occupations. One of the sons was to live in Manu'a and be called Tui-Manu'a; Tūtu and Ila were to live in Tutuila; U and Polu in Upolu; Sa and Uii, the youngest sons, in Savai'i. Sa and Uii were scattered far and wide to all lands." This latter is a statement full of meaning, and a corroboration of the Rarotongan statement, that from Savāi'i the people scattered to the Eastern Pacific. The above story is eponymous in so much as it attempts to assign an origin to the names of the three principal Samoan islands. But the interest in this connection is in showing the Samoan knowledge of Tawhaki.

Another story says that Tafa'i lived at Le Itu-o-Tane, or the north coast of Savai'i. Possibly this may have been the man, not the god named above.

The group of people of whom Tawhaki is the most distinguished, is also well-known to Hawaiian tradition as the following will show: but in considering their place in history we must not lose sight of what Fornander has said on this subject, for he has probably studied Hawaiian history more closely than others. His belief was that the group of people—Kaitangata, Hema, Tawhaki, Wahieroa, and Rata (all Maori ancestors)—has been engrafted on the Hawaiian genealogies after the arrival of the

Southern Polynesians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In this I think he is right; for the position assigned them on Hawaiian genealogies is contradicted both by Maori and Rarotonga history, but at the same time the Hawaiian account of them is very precise, as the following notes given to me by Dr. N. B. Emerson, of Honolulu, will show:—

"Puna (Maori Punga) and Hema were both sons of Ai-kanaka (Maori, Kai-tangata), and were born in Hawaii-ku-uli, at Kau-iki, Maui island. Hema died in Kahiki (Tahiti). The following old chant has reference to him, (in the translation the names are spelt as in Maori):—

Holo Hema i Kahiki, ki'i i ka apo ula—
Loa'a Hema, lilo i ka 'A'aia,
Haule i Kahiki, i Kapakapa-kaua.
Waiho ai i Ulu-paupau.

Hema voyaged to Tahiti to fetch the red coco-nut—
Hema secured it, but it was caught by the 'A'aia,†
He fell in Tahiti, in Tapatapa-taua,
His body was deposited at Uru-paupau.

"Hema's descendants reigned over Hawaii and Maui; Puna's over Oahu and Maui.

"Kaha'i (Maori Tawhaki), the son of Hema, was born at Ka-halulu-kahi (Te-haruru-tahi in Maori), Wailuku, Maui, and died at Kaili-ki'i,

*It is perhaps presumption to differ from so good a Hawaiian scholar as Dr. Emerson, but I would suggest that *apo-ula* is better translated "the red girdle," such as was in use in the Central Pacific, and worn by the high-chiefs only.

†*Cf.* Rarotongan *kakaia*, the white tern.

in Ka'u. His bones were deposited at Iao, Maui. He voyaged in search of his father's bones, to which the following chant has reference:—

O ke anuenue ke ala o Kaha'i,
Pi'i Kaha'i, koi Kaha'i,
He Kaha'i, ke koi-ula a Kane,
Hihia i na mata o 'Alihi.
A'e Kaha'i i ke anaha,
He anaha ke kanaka, ka wa'a.
I luna o Hanaia-ka-malama—
O ke ala ïa i imi ai i ka makua o Kaha'i—
O hele a i ka moana wehiwehi,
A ka'alulu i Hale-kumu-ka-lani.
Ui mai kini o ke akua.
Ninau o Kane, o Kanaloa,
He aha kau huakai nui, E Kaha'i!
I pi'i mai ai?
I 'imi mai au i ka Hema,
Aia i Kahiki, aia i Ulu-pau-pau,
Aia i ka 'A'aia, haha mau ia, E Kane,
Loa'a aku i Kukulu-o-Kahiki*

The rainbow was the path of Tawhaki,
Tawhaki climbed, Tawhaki strove,
Girded with the mystic enchantment of Tāne,
Fascinated by the eyes of Karihi,†
Tawhaki mounted on the flashing rays of light,
Flashing on men, and on canoes.
Above was Hangaia-te-marama—‡
That was the road by which he sought his father—
Pass over the dark blue sea,
Trembling, in Whare-ṭumu-te-rangi,
The multitude of the gods are asking,
Tane and Tangaroa enquire,

*Tuturu-o-Whiti is the common rendering of this name, and it refers to the "true, original, determined" Fiji.

†Hawaiian story does not mention Karihi as a brother of Tawhaki, but both Maori and Rarotonga history does.

‡In Maori story, this is the name of the hook let down from heaven, by which Tawhaki's wife was drawn up.

What is your great company seeking, O Tawhaki!
That you have come hither?
I come looking for Hema.
Over yonder in Tahiti, yonder in Uru-paupau,
Yonder by the 'A'aia, constantly fondled by Tane,
I have travelled to the "Pillars-of-Tahiti."

"Wahie-loa, son of Kaha'i, was born at Ka'u, and died at Koloa Puna-lu'u, and was buried at 'Alae in Kipa-hulu Maui.

"Laka (Maori Rătă), was born at Haili, Hawaii, and died at Kua-loa, Oahu. He was buried at Iao. A legend exists about the building of a canoe to search for his father," (as in Maori and Rarotongan story).

The Maori stories relating to Tawhaki from whatever part of New Zealand they are collected, are extremely persistent in stating that his son was Wahie-roa, and his grandson Rătă. The first of these names does not appear in the Rarotongan Native History; indeed, no descendants of Tawhaki are given, and the incidents connected with Rătă's miraculous canoe are assigned to 250 years after the former flourished, when the name of Rătă is first mentioned. The persistency of these Maori stories, confirmed as they are by Hawaiian traditions, makes it clear that these people were one family —descending from father to son—and I am inclined to think this was the age (the years 700 to 775) in which they lived. To me, the whole series of stories the Maoris have preserved—and they are very numerous—about these heroes, point to the contact with another race,

which can be no other than the Melanesian. From what has been said before, it was Fiji and Samoa in which they lived; and one of the Maori stories says that Tawhaki ascended a mountain called Whiti-haua, in which Whiti is the Maori pronunciation for Rarotongan Iti—Fiji. Connected with these heroes are the names Whiti, Matuku and Peka, all given, at different times, as the names of fierce semi-human monsters. In them I see the names of islands, used metaphorically for the people of those islands. Peka is the Tongan name for Bengga, of the Fiji Group, and Matuku is also a well-known name of one of the Fiji islands. In one of the same series of stories is mentioned a place called Muri-wai-o-ata, and this is the name of a stream on the south coast of Upolu, as I quite accidentally learnt when fording it in 1897, with Mr. Churchill and our *tula-fale* (speech-maker) who gave me the name.

Several places in Samoa are also connected with the name of Rata. Dr. Turner says, "Near the place where Fa'ataoafe lived (on the south side of Savāi'i) there are two hills, which are said to be the petrified double canoe of Lata. Lata came of old from Fiji, was wrecked there, went on shore, and lived on the land still called by his name in the neighbourhood of the settlement of Salai-lua. He visited Upōlu and built two large canoes at Fangaloa, but died before the deck to unite them had been completed. To Lata is traced the introduction of the large

double canoes united with a deck, and which of old were in use in Samoa. *Seu-i-le-va'a-o-Lata* (or 'steersman in the canoe of Lata') is a name not yet extinct in Samoa.'"*

The names of Wahie-roa and Rata *are,* however, known to the Rarotongans, as Queen Makea told me, although not given in the history, from which most of this is taken. Dr. Wyatt Gill also mentions them, in "Myths and Songs from the Pacific," where the scene of their adventures is laid in Kuporu (Upōlu), Iti-marama (Maori, Whiti-marama),† or Fiji and Avaiki (Savai'i).

In Maori story the tribes defeated by Tawhaki on his ascent of the mountain are called Te Tini-o-te-Makahua and Te Papaka-wheoro; with reference to the last name, *Papaka* means a crab, and in Rarotonga and Niuē, the words for crab (*unga* and *tupa*) are always applied to slaves, meaning Melanesian slaves.

According to Maori history, it was in the times of Tawhaki that cannibalism was first practised by their ancestors; and no doubt it was through their connection with the Melanesian people of Fiji, that they learnt the custom.

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*"Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago," by Geo. Turner, LL.D. 1884.

†Whiti-marama is also mentioned in Maori traditions as an island visited by Turi—no doubt one of the Fiji group. Whiti-te-kawa, is another Maori name of some part of the Fiji group, from whence certain *karakias* were learnt.

I think it is abundantly clear that in the foregoing account of Tawhaki we have—as so often occurs—the commingling of a very ancient tradition with the deeds of a man of the same name who flourished in historical times. The proof of this is as follows, and it must be allowed that it is a very extraordinary fact that we find here in the South Pacific the dimly remembered record of a tradition that is the common property of races whose dwelling places are as far apart as the poles. If reference be made to J. E. Hewitt's "The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," p. 564 *et seq.*, there will be found in the myth of Peleus, in its various forms, a counterpart of that of Tawhaki, in which nearly every circumstance connected with him is related—under slightly disguised forms it is true—but yet with so close a resemblance there can be no doubt of the identity. The story of Peleus is known to the folk-lore of Greece, Scandinavia, Ireland, and India, to which latter country we owe—according to Mr. Hewitt—its transformation into a more human shape at the hands of the Aryans. In my possession is a version of Tawhaki which differs much from the published accounts, and which was communicated by an old Maori sage, only after much entreaty, as he looked upon it as sacred, and in this I find the most striking resemblance to the myth of Peleus. This raises the question as to the source of the Maori knowledge of this old-world story; and the answer is, I submit, that

they learnt it during the long period of contact with the Aryan people in India, from which country may be traced also the full Maori story of Rangi and Papa (not the bare outline given by Grey and others).

After Taaki's adventures above we hear no more of him in Rarotonga story, and then the genealogical tables gives the name of Karii's son Karii-kaa, and his grandson Turi, who married Varavara-ura, the sister of Papa-neke. There is an inconsequential story about Turi, but not worthy of note, and then the history is silent as to the descendants of Papa-neke for five generations, when we again come on Maori history in the person of Apakura. This lady fills a large space in Maori and Moriori tradition, but so far as I am aware, she is not known to those of any other branch of the race except the Rarotongans and the Samoans—a fact of some significance.

The period of Apakura is distinguished in Maori history by the burning of the house or temple named Te Tihi- or Uru-o-Manōno, and in Rarotonga tradition by the first occupation of Rarotonga. According to the genealogical table appended hereto, we find that Apakura lived *circa* 875, or forty-one generations ago. Unfortunately the Maori traditions are contradictory as to the date of Apakura; that given at page 40, vol. vii., of the Journal Polynesian Society only makes four generations between

her and Tawhaki, whilst the Rarotongan gives seven. For reasons which have been stated, we are safe in taking the latter as being the more correct. In Maori history the story of Apakura is probably the most noted of all their ancient traditions. There are numerous old songs about her, and many references in the ancient laments; indeed, she may be said to be the "champion mourner" of the race, so much so, that one species of lament or dirge is called an *apakura* after her. Judging from the length and detail of the Rarotongan story of her doings, she occupies an equally prominent place in their regards; but, strange to say, while the incidents of the story are nearly the same in both dialects, the name of Te Uru-o-Manōno is not mentioned in Rarotongan. The burning of this temple in the traditions of the latter people is apparently represented by Apakura's destruction of the unnamed *marae* by fire.

The scene of our story has now shifted from Fiji to the Atu-Apai, or Haapai group, some 380 miles east-south-east from central Fiji, and 360 miles south-west from Samoa. In this name Atu-Apai we recognise the Ati-Hapai of Maori story, which, as it is written, means the Hapai people or tribe; but I think this is the common substitution of the *i* for *u*, and that the name was originally in Maori, Atu-Hapai, which would mean in most dialects, the Haapai group. This point, however, cannot at present be determined with certainty for the Sāmoan

account of Apakura, as furnished by Dr. Schultz in the Jour. Poly. Soc., vol. xviii., p. 139, seems rather to suggest that the incidents occurred in Samoa.

We will now follow out in brief the Rarotonga account of this period, for the final result was an important one. Apakura was the one sister of a family of ten brothers, whose names were Papa-neke, Papa-tu, Papa-noo,* Taūū, Tapakati, step-brothers, and Oro-keva-uru,† the eldest Apopo-te-akatinatina, Apopo-te-ivi-roa (the Hapopo of Maori story), Tangiia-ua-roro, and Iriau-te-marama, her own brothers, of whom Oro-keva-uru was the *ariki* or ruling chief of Atu-Apai, Vaea-te-ati-nuku being Apakura's husband. Her son was Tu-ranga-taua, known to Maori history as Tu-whaka-raro.

In their low tree-shaded home of Apai (Haabai, the Tongan form of the name) an island that is nowhere elevated more than twenty feet above sea level, fierce jealousy sprung up in the heart of the *ariki* against Apakura's son Tu-ranga-taua, on account of his beauty and skill. The people engaged in the game of *teka,* or dart throwing, and Tu-ranga-taua's dart far exceeded the flight of the *ariki's*; and so hate grew up in his heart, and the handsome Tu-ranga-taua was demanded of his mother as a sacrifice to the cannibal lusts of the chief. But she, having in mind the near

*In all these names beginning in Papa, we shall recognise those of the Moriori story, beginning in Pepe.

†The Poporo-kewa of Maori story.

relationship of her son to the *ariki,* refused her consent. Then follows, as so often occurs in the Native history, a song, very pretty in the original, but the translation is not worth giving. At last, after due ceremony and many messengers had come and gone, Apakura, with tears and lamentations, adorns her son in all the finery of savagedom, preparatory to the sacrifice. The boy now gives his parting words to his parent: "O my mother! This is my last word to thee. Thou shalt lament for me, and in so doing thou shalt call on one to avenge me. Thus shalt thou lament; and thou must remain where thou art, for when the sere *ti*-leaf falls across our threshold, thou wilt know that I am dead. And when thou seest this sign, upraise the cover of our drinking spring, and behold! if the waters thereof are red, then surely am I gone for ever." Thus saying, he kissed (rubbed noses with) his mother, and taking his spear, departed.

Coming to the crowd around the ready-prepared oven, the *ariki* said, "Take and smite him! Let not his feet tread the paving of the *marae,* lest it be defiled." And then Tu-ranga-taua, with the words of a brave warrior, uttered his challenge: "'Tis Tu-ranga-taua of the Atu-apai! The son born of the gods! Stand off, ye oven-builders; and ye of the long spears; ye off-spring of the oven's smoke! Ye all shall flee before my spear, and all your heads, be they five hundred, shall lie in the dust!" He had

advanced to the steps of the *marae,* where the *ariki* and his five hundred men were standing. "Seize him! smite him to his death!" cried the chief; and again Tu-ranga-taua uttered his challenge, at the same time attacking the crowd, he put them to flight. Again he attacked the bands under Apopo-te-akatinatina and Apopo-te-ivi-roa, which surrounded him on all sides, but he defeated them all, and reached the central part of the *marae.* Then, being much exhausted with his efforts, the other uncles attacked him, and Tu-ranga-taua fell under their blows.

When the morning came, the mother went forth lamenting her son, and to burn her house and gardens, as a token of desolation. And so she came in front of the sacred place, where the people were assembled, who cried out to the *ariki,* "Alas! she has even reached our sacred spot." The chief, in answer, said, "Why do ye cry out? Is not the son of Apakura within your coco-nut food baskets?" After a time others said, "O! she is in the very *marae* itself. Alas! she has burnt it with fire!" Again the *ariki* spoke, "Why speaks the mouth? Is he not within your baskets?" Not one answered to that; all mouths were closed. After a time said one, "We are all partakers of the same sin." The *ariki* speaking, reproved them, "Ye are like green coco-nuts, and foolish withal—the high chiefs, the priests, the orators, the leaders, the lesser chiefs; indeed, even the very warriors. Not one has a word of wisdom; the whole land is

in fear. Not one of us shall remain alive—not a single one—because amongst ye there is not one that can speak a word to save us. We shall serve—we shall be slaves." And their hearts all sank at those words.

And now Apakura returned to her home and took her clothes and rent them, tearing off a fragment, and dying it in tumeric, and blackened it with *tuitui* (candle nut). Then she passed through the length of the land, seeking aid to revenge the death of her son; but no one would receive her. Again she returned, and taking another fragment of her clothing, again dyed and blackened it, this time passing over the breadth of the land, from side to side, but no one would receive or listen to her mission.

Disappointed in obtaining the succour she sought, Apakura now crossed to Avaiki (Savāi'i) to the brave descendants of Tangaroa-maro-uka: to Te Ariki-taania, to Tama-te-uru-mongamonga and to Rae-noo-upoko, the first of whom welcomed her, and enquired her mission. "My child has been killed by my own brothers; Tu-ranga-taua is dead! Hence came I to you to avenge his death, the fame of your deeds and that of your brothers having spread afar. The opportunity has come, three canoes full of them are at sea this moment engaged in fishing." Then Te Ariki-taania arming his men, put to sea, and reached the Apai group where he met the brothers fishing. With pleasant words he inveigled them all into his own canoe, saying:

"Let us all fish together, my brethren, and then proceed to your home; or if you prefer it we will go to mine." "Where is thy home?" "Savāi'i!" "That is right; we will go to Savāi'i." Then with smooth words and cunning heart, the *Ariki* placed his guests in convenient order in his own canoe, where, having arranged his weapons, he threw a rope round their necks, and arising, "was soon cutting off their heads." Te Ariki-taania now returned, and reaching shore gave the three heads to Apakura, saying, "Here are Tangiia-ua-roro, Te Mata-uri-o-papa, and Iriau-te-marama. But first let us swallow their eyeballs, as a token of what will be the fate of Orokeva-uru; so may he be crushed in my mouth."* But Te Ariki-taania now thought he had done enough, so sent Apakura away to his brothers, to Vakatau-i'i and Rae-noo-upoko, in the first of which names we recognise the Maori Whakatau, of whose deeds their histories and songs are full. The story goes on to describe her welcome at Savāi'i, and the lengthy preparations made by the brothers to avenge the death of their young relative—for the story says Apakura was their *tuaine*, a cousin probably. Then brave and warlike words were spoken as the expedition mustered and was reviewed on the beach, where the swiftest and bravest were chosen, mustering 500 all told. The canoes were recaulked, new arms were hewn

*Here we recognise a well-known Maori custom, often alluded to also in the Native history of Rarotonga.

out, slings and stones collected, spears and clubs of many kinds made. Two months were occupied in these preparations, and then the canoes sailed for the Haapai group, off which they anchored some distance from the shore. Then came a messenger from the island saying, "Do not let us hurry, to-morrow we will fight," to which all agreed.

On the morrow the shore was lined with the warriors of Haapai, and Orokeva-uru was heard giving his orders and directions to his people. It was now that Vaka-tau sent ashore his challenge to Oro-keva-uru to fight in single combat, both being chiefs of equal rank. And so they commenced their long combat. At the same time Papatu of the Haapai people swam off to attack the canoes, but as soon as his head appeared above water it was cut off. Then followed Papa-neke, and Papa-noo, who shared the same fate. Now came Tāuu and Tapa-kati, thinking they would succeed, but their severed heads soon sank to the bottom, amidst the cheers of the invaders, whilst the hearts of those on shore sank within them. Vaka-tau and his opponent were all this time bravely fighting on the shore, whilst the former's people remained on board; and so it went on—"for seven nights" says the story, a little instance of Polynesian imagination—until Vaka-tau was wounded in the little finger by Orokeva's club, on which he returned on board to recruit before renewing the contest. Rae-noo-upoko, taking advantage

of the night, went ashore, where he devised a cunning snare in the place where Orokeva was to stand next morning when the fight again began, and carried the end of the rope attached to the snare on board his vessel.

When the two warriors met again on the beach in the morning, a fiercer struggle than ever set in. "They strove from early dawn till the sun was high in the sky," says the narrative, "and then came the pulling of the rope from the vessel; Orokeva was caught; he fell; Vakatau sprang on him, and soon Orokeva's head was on board Vakatau's vessel." And now it was arranged that Vakatau should remain aboard with 100 men, whilst Rae-noo-upoko proceeded ashore with 400 followers to destroy the people of Atu-Apai, root and branch. A great destruction followed—the houses were burnt, much booty was obtained, and many were killed. Apopo-te-akatinatina and Apopo-te-ivi-roa fled before Vakatau's brother, Tama-te-uru-mongamonga, until they reached the far side of the island, where, hastily lading a canoe, with a few of their people they took to the sea, and eventually made their way to Rarotonga, where they were the first inhabitants, or *tangata-uenua,* whose descendants were found there 375 years after by Tangiia in the year 1250.

And now, the warriors having done their work, they set up Apakura's youngest son, Vaea-ma-kapua, as *ariki* over the Haapai group.

A reference to page 161 of vol. iv. of the "Journal of the Polynesian Society," will show the Moriori account of this incident, which differs merely in detail from the above brief abstract of the long Rarotongan story. In "Polynesian Mythology," p. 61, is one of the Maori versions of the same event; but there are many others, and, but for the account of the burning of the temple or house—Te Uru-o-Manōno—they are remarkably like that just given, derived from Rarotonga.

Through Apakura, the connection between the Rarotongan *tangata-uenua,* or first settlers there, and the Maoris can be shown. Thus, Apakura's two brothers, both named Apopo (the Hapopo of Maori History), fled to Rarotonga, and there settled; and as Apakura has plenty of descendants amongst the Maoris, the connection is clear. These events occurred about the year 875.

In the times above mentioned, some of the people were still living in Fiji, whilst—as has been shown—others were living in Tonga, Haapai, Savai'i, Upōlu, and no doubt also in Vavau, though there is little mention of this island about this period. One of the contemporaries of Apakura was Tuna-ariki, and he lived in Fiji, where a war broke out at this time about Ava-rua, a place which appears to have been one of the principal settlements there, and after which, it is probable, several other places

of the same name in Eastern Polynesia were named. This war was between Tuna-ariki and Tu-ei-puku, the latter being beaten in the struggle, and the *au,* or government, seized by Tuna-ariki, Tu-ei-puku being finally killed by a *puaka-uru-kivi,* which means a boar striped like a tiger.

Tu-ei-puku's son was Kati-ongia, about whom is the saying *Kua ariki Kati-ongia; kua au Kuporu* ("Kati-ongia became the ruling chief; Upōlu secured peace," or Upōlu ruled), showing that—probably after his father's defeat—he had removed to and become chief of Upōlu. Kati-ongia is one of the few names that can be recognised on Samoan genealogies; its Samoan form is 'Ati-ongie, identically the same name, but, as has been shown, the difference in the genealogical period precludes their being the same individual.

Kati-ongia's grandson was the famous Atonga, who also was a great chief in Upōlu, and in whose time was built the celebrated canoe, which made the many voyages over so large an extent of the Pacific Ocean, as related in the Rev. J. B. Stair's "Samoan Voyages."* In his time also flourished Rătă-vare—according to Rarotongan history the guardian of the forest in which the canoe was built, but in Maori story the actual builder and navigator of it. Atonga's son was Te-Ara-tanga-nuku, the first navigator to use this wonderful canoe, and he flourished

*Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. iv., p. 99.

in Upōlu in the year 950. In Atonga's time lived Tupua-ki-Amoa,* who was possibly one of the early members of the Tupua family of Samoa, whose descendant is Mataafa, now living.

It is clear that from about this epoch Fiji ceased to play the important part it had done since the times of Tutarangi (A.D. 450), or for 500 years, and that the people had spread out from there to most parts of the Pacific. Since the times of Ui-te-rangiora in 650, if we may judge from the silence of the Native History as to any notable voyages, or the mention of any lands other than those in the Western Pacific, it would appear that there had been a partial cessation of expeditions undertaken for the purpose of colonization, though, no doubt, communication was kept up with Eastern Polynesia. It is also clear that just about the times of Te Ara-tanga-nuku, or in 950, a fresh impulse was given to navigation, and from this time forward for many years these Rarotonga-Maoris were frequently passing from east to west, and to the south, but communication does not appear to have been re-opened yet with Hawaii for nearly two hundred years from the period of Te Ara-tanga-nuku.

We can only surmise the cause of this apparent increase of nautical adventure at this time, for the Native History is silent about it.

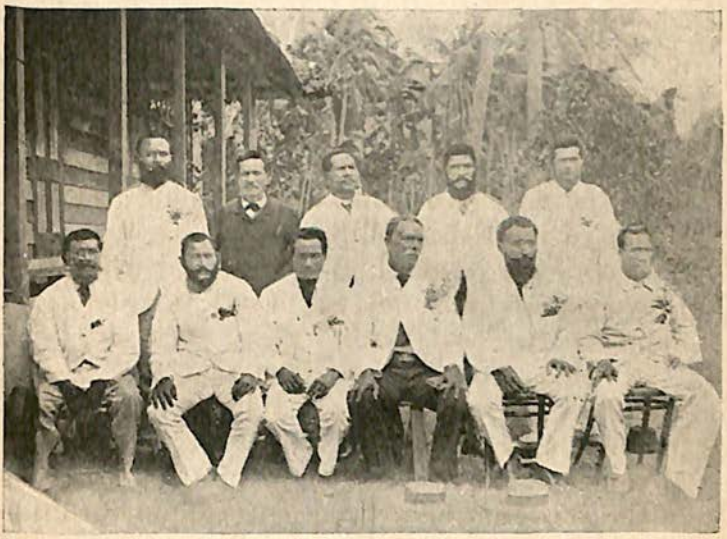
*Amoa is the name of a place on the north-east coast of Savāi'i.

I would suggest that it was due to the increase of the Melanesian half-caste element in Fiji, which must have been growing for some time past, and that it was due to their pressure on the Polynesians that they began about this time to move eastward. It is abundantly clear, from physiology and language, that there was a time when the Melanesians and Polynesians mixed in marriage. I suppose this would occur by the conquest of the former to a certain small extent, and the capture of Melanesian women. The result of this mixture is the present Fiji people, which is most noticeable in the Eastern or Lau Group of the Fiji Archipelago, where, it is said, the people are lighter in colour, and where the Polynesians must have been in strongest numbers.

It seems to me probable that Polynesian cannibalism is traceable to this period of their history, and that they learnt it from their Melanesian neighbours in Fiji. The branches of the race that have been most addicted to this practice are the Maoris, the Rarotongans, the Paumotuans and the Marquesans. In Samoa it was unknown, and was very little practised in Hawaii* and Tahiti. The reason for this would appear to be—in the case of the Samoans, that they occupied their group before the subsequent arrival in Fiji of what we call the Maori-Rarotongan branch, who mixed more with the Melanesians than did the Samoans. It is true

*Professor Alexander says, not at all.

that there was an old custom in Samoa of offering a prisoner to a chief, tied up in coco-nut leaves, ready for "baking," but he was never eaten. This has been stated to be a relic of the time when they were cannibals; but once cannibals, why not always cannibals, as were



People of Niue, Polynesians slightly mixed with Melanesians.

Maoris and others? Rather, I think, is this a custom that was introduced into Samoa as a mark of humiliation and degradation, based on the known fact that their Maori-Rarotongan and Melanesian neighbours adopted this custom, not that the Samoans themselves were ever cannibals any more than their remote ancestors in India and Indonesia were. The

very few references to cannibalism in Samoan traditions may, I think, be traced to a recollection of the Maori-Rarotongan occupation of the coasts of that group.

With respect to the Tahitians; if, as seems likely, their genealogies show only from forty to fifty generations of residence in that group, then they spread there somewhere about the period of the great Rarotongan navigator, Ui-te-rangiora, and therefore before the closer connection of Polynesians and Melanesians took place in Fiji, or at any rate before this intercourse was sufficient to influence Polynesian customs. The prevalence of cannibalism at Tahiti to a small extent would be due to the influence of later migrations from Fiji (of which there appear to have been several), and after the original settlers in Tahiti had become numerous.

It is the same with Hawaii. It has been shown that it was about A.D. 650 that this group was first settled, and the strong inference is, from Fiji.* This, again, would be before the time of

*I judge from Fornander that the Hawaiians have no tradition of any Hawaiki (Savāi'i) in the Pacific, but in their word Ka-hiki we may probably trace the name Fiji as well as Ta-hiti. Dr. Turner quotes Tafiti as a Samoan name for Fiji. Again, it is probable that the Hawaiian expression, Kukulu-o-Kahiki, is meant for the Fiji group. In Maori this is Tuturu-o-Whiti, a name, I feel convinced, they applied to Fiji, meaning the original or true Whiti (Fiji) in contradistinction to Tawhiti (Tahiti), the second place of their sojourn in the Central Pacific. The Hawaiian word has since become generalised, as with the Maori Hawaiki.

the Melanesian connection. Fornander has shown that the Hawaiians remained isolated until about the year 1150, when the southern Polynesians again appeared on the scene, and these southern visitors, who have been shown to be frequently Maori and Rarotongan ancestors, must have been well acquainted with cannibalism. That their customs did not spread in Hawaii—at any rate, to any extent—is due probably to the original inhabitants being in sufficient numbers to make their objection to it felt.

In the Marquesas, if we take the period of Nuku of their genealogies—about 50 generations ago—as that at which the islands were first settled, this would be before Melanesian customs affected Fiji. Therefore we may accredit the later and frequent visitors from Fiji with having introduced the custom there. In the early years of last century they were as inveterate cannibals as either Maori or Rarotongan. It is very clear, from the Rarotonga histories, that the connection between the Marquesans and the Maori-Rarotongans is very close, and has been continued from early days down to the thirteenth century. The connection was that of blood relations, and also frequently as bitter enemies—conditions which do not conflict in Polynesia.

With regard to cannibalism amongst the Maoris, there are several clear allusions in their traditions to one of their female ancestors

named Whaitiri, the wife of Kai-tangata, having been the first cannibal. Maori and Hawaiian genealogies are concordant as to the position these people occupy in their histories, which is as noted in the margin. It has already been shown that the period of Tawhaki as deduced from both Maori and Rarotongan sources, is 48 and 50 generations ago, or in other words, about the year A.D. 700. This date is about from 200 to 250 years after the first occupation of the Fiji group by the Polynesians, and it therefore seems a fair inference that the tradition as to Whaitiri being the first cannibal, is true, and that it was in Fiji that she and her husband lived. It is probable that she was a Melanesian, and that she induced her husband to become a cannibal and thus receive the distinguishing name of Kai-tangata, or man-eater.

Whaitiri=Kai-tangata
|
Hemā
|
Tawhaki
|
Wahieroa
|
Rata

It is a somewhat remarkable thing that, in the numerous Polynesian traditions with which we are now acquainted, so few positive statements can be found in reference to the black Melanesian race, with which the Polynesians must so often have come in contact. The most precise statement I know of is that mentioned in the Supplement to the Journal of the

Polynesian Society, vol. v., p. 6,* where they are faithfully described, and said to have been living in a neighbouring island to Waerota, the then home of the Maori branch of the Polynesians, an island which is known to be in the vicinity of Fiji, but which island is uncertain. We also have a later statement (not yet published) that describes a people much in the same terms as that quoted above, which evidently refers to Melanesians. There are also a few statements in old Maori chants, which probably refer to the Melanesians, but they are very obscure. Some of the very many meanings of the Maori words *tupua,* "odd, out-landish, demon, weird-one," found so often in their chants and traditions, seem to me to be names for these people. It is just such a name as they would give them at the present day. It is similar in meaning to the Rarotonga *taae,* which has been already suggested as a descriptive name for the Melanesians.

Fornander, writing of this period, says, "Of that intercourse, contest and hostility between the Papuan (Melanesian) and Polynesian races, there are several traditionary reminiscences among the Polynesian tribes, embodied in their mythology or retained as historical facts, pointing to past collisions and stimulating to future reprisals," but he does not particularise the statements.

*Already quoted, see *ante.*

In this connection, another question arises: Why did not the Polynesians use the bow and arrows? For they must have seen the effect of them with the Melanesians. Of course, they did use them as an amusement, and for shooting birds, etc., but I believe never in war. It is due to the conservatism of the race that they did not

People of Tonga, Polynesian type.

use the bow and arrow. Their system of fighting—with few exceptions—was always hand to hand; and this was so much ingrained in the race, like other customs, that they never used the bow—only useful in fighting at a distance. It was against the custom of their ancestors of India and Indonesia, and hence improper in them. They did, however, use the sling stone of which mention is often made in

the Rarotongan history, but it is probable that they did not learn this from the Melanesians—it was an old custom. The Rarotonga and Niuē name for a sling-stone is *maka,* the Maori word to sling or throw; it was cast by the hand without the use of the sling. In Niuē the stones are polished and shaped like eggs.

According to Mariner, the Tongans ate human flesh occasionally, but it was a custom apparently of recent introduction from Fiji, as, no doubt, was that of their use of the bow and arrow. Besides the Rarotongan and Maori element in the Tongans, which may be inferred from what has preceded, there was a Samoan one also. The Rev. J. E. Moulton told me that in the time of Ahoeitu, or about thirty-four generations ago, there was a migration of Samoans to Tonga, who settled near Ha'amonga on the N.E. end of Tonga-tapu and who were the builders of the *Langi,* or stone graves with steps. From that place they subsequently removed to Mua. This would be about the year 1050. But if these migrants were Samoans—properly so called—why do we see no trace of the *Langi* in Samoa at the present time? It is more likely that these fresh settlers on Tonga were some of the Maori-Rarotongans, who had a knowledge of this step-form of structure, as is shown in the Tahitian *marae.*

Sojourn in Eastern Polynesia.

In the time of Atonga (who lived in Upōlu) or *circa* 950, the Rarotonga history first mentions a permanent residence of any of these Maori-Rarotongans in Tahiti, not that this was the first occupation of the island, but rather of that particular branch of the race shown on the genealogies. Apakura's great-great-grandson was Tu-nui, and he lived on the western side of Tahiti. The saying about him is "Tahiti was the land; the mountains above were Ti-kura-marumaru, and Oroanga-a-tuna, the *koutu* (*marae*) on the shore was Puna-ruku and Peke-tau." Puna-ruku is the well known Puna-ru'u river in the Paea district of Tahiti. This is a very common form of saying in Tahiti as applied to a high chief, and amongst the Maoris we find a similar one which is illustrated by the following: "*Ko Tongariro te maunga, ko Te Heuheu te tangata.*" Tongariro is the mountain, Te Heuheu is the man. Similar sayings are applied to many high chiefs.

From Tu-nui the history is again silent as to any doings of his successors for six generations, when we find flourishing in Tahiti, Kaua and his wife Te Putai-ariki and Kaua's brother Rua-tea with his wife Vairoa, who were parents of Ono-kura, one of the most famous of Rarotongan and Tahitian ancestors, about whom are some very lengthy legends. The son of Kaua and Te Putai-ariki was Tangiia-ariki, whose brother was Tutapu (not Tutapu-aru-roa, as the

Rarotonga native history is careful to tell us). The fact of there being a Tangiia-ariki and a Tutapu flourishing at this period (*circa* 1100), and a Tangiia-nui with a cousin named Tu-tapu-aru-roa (*circa* 1250) is likely to mislead people into confusing the two, especially in comparing the Tahitian version of Hono-'ura with the Rarotongan account of Onokura. Indeed, there is confusion in the Tahitian version, where people who lived in 1250 are introduced in connection with Hono-'ura. In view of the completeness of the Rarotongan genealogies we must accept their version as being correct, especially when we consider the details of the family connections given.

The history of Onokura is a very remarkable one, whether the Tahitian or Rarotongan account is considered. In the latter, the narrative is interspersed all through with songs and recitative, which would take many hours in delivery. It is, in fact, a complete "South Sea Opera," the full translation of which, I fear, will never be obtained, for the songs are full of obsolete words and phrases, the meanings of which are probably unknown to the Rarotongans of these days. It is a remarkable thing that this celebrated ancestor is unknown to the Maoris, and, I think, to the Hawaiians also. I can only suggest that this poet, warrior, and navigator is known to Hawaiians and Maoris by some other name, but even then his deeds are not recorded. Possibly the great fame he has

acquired is due to Tahitians and Rarotongans descending more directly from him—as they do —and also to his feats having been gradually and increasingly clothed with the marvellous and wonderful in ages long after the hero himself flourished. As Onokura flourished *circa* 1100, and as the Maoris left those parts in 1350, they ought to have some record of him. Again, as he lived in the middle of the second era of navigation, and during the period, or just before, communication was re-established with Hawaii, he ought to be known to the latter people, but he is not.

Divested of the marvellous—which is to be found very fully in the original—the history of Onokura in brief, according to Rarotongan tradition, is this: the chiefs of Tahiti had for some few generations back been desirous of proceeding to Iva for the purpose of conquering that group. Iva, from what follows, is clearly the Marquesas, and not the country of the Hiva clan of Raiatea. Onokura appears to have been born at Tautira, Tahiti, which is corroborated by the many place names in the story that are situated near there. On a visit made to this place in 1897, Ori-a-ori the chief of Tautira pointed out to me the places connected with him, and he claimed, moreover, that both Onokura and Tangiia-ariki were his ancestors. The history mentions that at this period the inhabitants of Tahiti had increased to great numbers, and yet amongst them were no brave

warriors to be found who would attempt to overcome the monsters of the deep, and other difficulties that lay between them and Iva. At last Onokura was fetched from his mountain home of Ti-kura-marumaru, where he lived on wild fruits (amongst them the *Mamaku* and *wheki,* well known Maori names for species of the tree-fern, the heart of the first named being still eaten by them), the *kokopu* (trout), and *koura* (cray-fish). Under his direction a grand *pāi,* or canoe, was built, and finally launched with much song and ceremony. Then the chief —Tangiia-ariki—prepared for his voyage to overcome the chief of Iva. They now launched forth on Te Moana-o-Kiva, which is the Rarotonga form of the Maori name for the Pacific Ocean (Te Moana-nui-o-Kiwa). In one of the songs here introduced is found the name of Tamatoa-ariki, of Poa (Opoa), at Ra'iatea, which seems to show that this name, borne in the last century by the ruling chief of Ra'iatea, was in existence so long ago as the year 1100. The expedition was overtaken by a dreadful storm off Akaau Island (Fakaau, one of the Paumotus) where Onokura, by his strength and skill repairs the vessel, the name of which was Te Ivi-o-kaua. Then follow visits to the people of Akaau, whose chief was Te Ika-moe-ava, who was related to the visitors; and here Onokura marries his first wife, Atanua, the chief's daughter. In connection with this island is mentioned the name Te Raii, which is probably

the Maori Te Raihi, some island or place beyond Tawhiti-nui (or Tahiti), according to Maori traditions.

After a lengthened stay at Akaau the expedition next proceeds to Te Pukamaru (or Takume, one of the Paumotu group), Onokura leaving his wife and son behind. On arriving at this island, Ngarue, a chief from Iva was found there, with whom there was much fighting, in which Ngarue was defeated, but Onokura loses his *ariki,* Tangiia-ariki, who was killed by the enemy. Next they arrive at Iva, where more fighting occurs, and they apparently settle down for some years, for the next event is the arrival of Nga-upoko-turua, Onokura's son, by his wife Atanua, from Akaau. After this there are further wars with the Marquesans, at Rua-unga (Uauka Island) and Rua-pou (Uapou island)* where lived Parau-nikau, whose daughter Onokura marries; her name was Ina. From here Onokura goes to Tupai, where he died of old age, and his spirit went to Navao. I cannot say which Tupai this is, possibly the little island north of Porapora, Society group.

The above is an extremely abbreviated account of the doings of Onokura which in the original covers 50 pages of closely written foolscap. No doubt it relates a nautical warlike

*In both of these names we shall recognise two of the smaller islands of the Marquesas, if we remember that the Marquesans do not sound the "r" and that they change "ng" into "k" very frequently.

expedition from Tahiti to the Marquesas, undertaken by these Rarotongan and Tahitian ancestors. It is interesting as showing the intercourse that took place in those times between distant groups, and the extent to which the ever-warlike Polynesian carried his arms. We must remember that this is about the middle of the period of Mr. Stair's so-called "Samoan Voyages," and it was during Onokura's lifetime (or in 1150) that communication was again established with Hawaii, after a seclusion of 500 years, of which Fornander has given so excellent an account in his "The Polynesian Race." In the story of Onokura, I do not recognise the name of any of the Maori ancestors, unless Ngarue, referred to above, is the same as one of that name shown on Maori genealogies, but proof is wanting.

The following is a confirmation of the communication with Hawaii above referred to from Rarotonga History. In the times of Tamarua-paipai, who was a contemporary of Onokura (*circa* 1100), and who lived in Avaiki-raro (either Fiji or Samoa), great disputes arose over the distribution of certain food, part of which was the *ariki's* tribute. Naea was the *ariki,* but his younger brothers disputed his rights, and rebelled against him. The names of these brothers were: Tu-oteote, Karae-mura, Tiori, Tunatu, Kakao-tu, Kakao-rere, Uki, Pana, Pato, and Ara-iti. This revolt ended in a desolating war, which obliged Naea to flee

from his country. He proceeded to the east, and on to Vaii (Vaihi, or Waihi, the Tahitian and Maori names for the Hawaiian Group). The narrative is a little obscure here, but apparently he settled in Oahu (Va'u in Rarotongan, which is the Maori pronunciation—Wahu—of Oahu) at a place named Tangaungau. I do not know if such a name is to be found in any of the Hawaiian Islands; its Hawaiian form would be Kanaunau or Konanau. The Hawaiian Islands are called in this particular narrative in Rarotongan, "Avaiki-nui-o-Naea."

This is clearly not the same Naea who lived in Tangiia's time (*circa* 1250), for three lines of genealogies show this one to have lived about 1100—a period which is only fifty years from the date assigned by Fornander as the opening of communication afresh between central Polynesia and Hawaii, and it is the first mention of the latter group in Rarotongan story since *circa* 650. The name of Naea is not to be found in Fornander, but it is quite possible he is known to the Hawaiians by some other appellation. The first of these southerners to arrive in Hawaii, according to Fornander, was a priest named Paao (probably Pakao in the southern dialects), who afterwards brought over one Pili-Kaaiea, who became King of Hawaii Island.*

*There is some confusion in the Native history about these two men named Naea—one account states that the names mentioned above were the names of the brothers of that Naea who arrived in Rarotonga in Tangiia's time.

It has been shown by Fornander that voyages from the central Pacific to Hawaii ceased in the time of Laa-mai-kahiki, or about 1325, and from that time down to the visit of Captain Cook in 1778, the islanders remained isolated from the rest of the world. Recent researches, since the time of Fornander, however, go to prove that a Spanish navigator, Juan Gaetano, really discovered the group in the year 1555.* It has been a matter of some enquiry as to what was the cause of this cessation of voyages to Hawaii, after they had endured for some one hundred and seventy-five years, or from the year 1150 to 1325. This story has shown the great probability that some of these voyagers were the Rarotonga-Maori branch of the race then residing in Tahiti, Marquesas and the Eastern Pacific. In 1250 a large party of these bold adventurers settled in Rarotonga, and in 1350 others removed to New Zealand. This being so, it seems to me that new outlets having been found for their energies, and the boldest navigators of the race having found fresh lands on which to settle, there no longer remained the strong inducement to keep up communication with Hawaii that had previously existed—they no longer required the Hawaiian lands on which to settle, and so the voyages ceased.

The expedition of Onokura to Iva, (Marquesas) described above, is not the only one we

*W. D. Alexander's "A Brief History of the Hawaiian People, 1891."

hear of at this period. In the times of Onokura (*circa* 1100) according to the genealogies, there lived in Rangi-ura—one of the islands to the north of Fiji—a chief named Anga-takurua, whose ancestor Rua-taunga, seven generations before him, or say about the year 925, was still living in Avaiki-atia, or Indonesia. Whilst living at Rangi-ura, there came on a visit to Anga-takurua, a chief named Makea, which is the first of that celebrated family we hear of, under that name in the Native History. Makea's visit was to obtain men to form an expedition to Iva. The story then describes the selection of the men for the expedition, with which went Anga-takurua and Pou-o-Rongo as the leaders of their party. The expedition started in two canoes, and made their way to Iti-nui (or Fiji) where they were reinforced by some people from there, and then went on to Iva, where they were very successful, for as the story says, they killed 1510 of the Iva people. Anga-takurua now returned to Rangi-ura, his own country, whilst Pou-o-Rongo joined Makea. Five generations afterwards, a descendant of Anga-takurua named Tara-mai-te-tonga settled in Rarotonga with Tangiia, of whose party he was a member.

These long expeditions, undertaken for purposes of war, show to what a pitch the Polynesians, at that time, had carried their powers of navigation. The love of the sea, and its accompanying adventures, must have been very strong in them.

From Onokura for two generations there are no events to record, but in the third, or in the year 1200, flourished Kaukura, who lived in Upōlu, but removed from there and settled in Tahiti. We have now arrived at an interesting period in the history of Eastern Polynesia, where, as is shown in the Rarotongan Native History, communication was frequent throughout Central Polynesia. These are the times of Tangiia-nui, or *circa* 1250.

The Settlement of Rarotonga.

It has been shown that Rarotonga was first settled about 875, by the two men named Apopo, and their people. Here they and their descendants seem to have lived for 375 years, until the settlement there of Tangiia-nui, with few events to mark their history, for no mention is made of the island in the different voyages that are described during that period. There is an old and fanciful legend in relation to Rarotonga, which describes the arrival there of some of their gods—Tonga-iti and Ari—and their dispute as to the ownership of the island, which at that time was called Nuku-tere and Tumu-te-varo-varo; Rarotonga being a modern name.

It appears from the Native History, that just before Apopo and his people arrived at Rarotonga, another party under Ata-i-te-kura had

migrated from Iva* (Marquesas), and settled down there. Apopo settled at Are-rangi, and Ata-i-te-kura at Orotu. These immigrants did not live long in peace, for Apopo desired the island for himself, and determined to kill Ata-i-te-kura. The latter, being informed of this by Tara-iti, a friend of his, dispatched his sons Rongo-te-akangi and Tu-pare-kura right off to Tahiti, to his sister Pio-ranga-taua, for help. Arrived there they beheld on Mount Ikurangi, at Tahiti, the sign their father had told them of, which foretold his death. The aunt, Pio-ranga-taua, now arranged an expedition to return to Rarotonga, but the young men, not being satisfied with its appearance, proceeded on to Iva, to Airi, the chief in those days, and the younger brother of their father. It was not long before the Iva people were afloat, and sailing down before the trade wind soon reached Rarotonga, and made war on Apopo, who, the story says, had the stronger party, so the Iva people at first suffered a defeat. By a stratagem, however, they succeeded in capturing Apopo, and then the Iva chief, Pu-kuru, "scooped out Apopo's eyes and swallowed them"; hence the saying, "*Opukia io te puku-o-mata, apaina na Tangaroa ki te rangi, na Rongo ma Tane, e eiva kino te tamaki e.*" "Catch the eye-balls, offer them to

*There is a long genealogy of Ata-i-te-kura's ancestors in the Native History, but it does not connect on to other lines, so is no use as a check on the date, nor does this line come down beyond his two sons.

Tangaroa in the skies, to Rongo and Tane; an evil pastime is war." After staying some time, the Iva people returned to their own country.

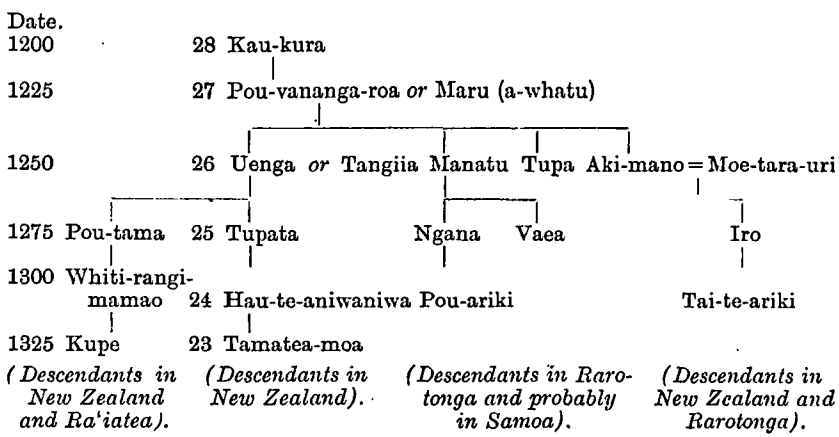
After them came Te Ika-tau-rangi* (how long after, or where he came from is not stated), who settled down at One-marua. In his time drums and dances were introduced. Again after this came three canoes, which were cruising about the ocean. When the crews saw smoke and the people ashore, they landed, but were set upon by the natives and driven off.

Here ends the brief history of Rarotonga down to the times of Tangiia-nui. If my readers remember that the two men named Apopo were Apakura's brothers, they will see that these early settlers were of the same branch of the Polynesians as many a Maori now living in New Zealand. When Tangiia-nui arrived in Rarotonga in 1250 he found Tane-kovea and others, descendants of Apopo, then living there. Dr. Wyatt Gill says the men were all killed and the women saved, but our Native History relates nothing of this.

The immediate ancestors of Tangiia-nui seemed all to have lived in Tahiti. It can be shown, I think, how Tangiia is connected with the Maori lines of ancestors. One of his names

*This name is shown on Maori genealogies as a son of Kupe, the navigator who visited New Zealand some time before the fleet, but it is impossible to say if the names refer to the same person. By another line he is shown to be a great grandson of Moe-tara-uri, Whiro's father.

was Uenga, afterwards changed to Rangi and then to Tangiia.* His adopted father (and uncle) was Pou-vananga-roa, whose other name was Maru, according to Rarotonga history. In Maori history, we find, from an account given by the Urewera people, that Maru-a-whatu had a son named Uenga, and his great-grandson was Tamatea-moa, who, my informant insisted, came to New Zealand in the Taki-timu canoe. These names may be shown in a table, as below, but it is very difficult at this time to state if it is quite correct.



Tangiia is shown above as a son of Pou-vananga-roa; in reality he was the son of the

*Colonel Gudgeon C.M.G., Govt. Resident at Rarotonga, informs me that he was also known to the Mangaia people as Toi. If so, it is just possible, but not probable, that this may be Toi-te-hua-tahi known to Maori history, as living in Hawaiki.

latter's brother Kau-ngaki, and therefore Pou-vananga-roa's nephew. The connection of the lines depends on the fact of there being a Maru, who had a son Uenga, by both Maori and Rarotonga history. The date of Tamatea-moa is one generation, or twenty-five years, before the mean period of the *heke* to New Zealand, but if the man was somewhat advanced in life when he came, this discrepancy

Turi's home.

disappears. Kau-kura (Kahu-kura, in Maori), mentioned above was also a noted voyager. It is just possible this is the man who visited New Zealand according to Maori history, and who is accredited by the East Coast tribes with having introduced the *kumara* to their knowledge, for neither *kumara* nor *taro* were grown in New Zealand until some time after the times of Toi, or *circa* 1150.

With respect to Kupe, mentioned in the table above, there is some doubt as to the exact period of his visit to New Zealand, but the Taranaki tribes say that it was in the same generation that Turi came here from Ra'iatea, and the few genealogies we have from him confirm this.

Rarotonga history does not mention that Poutama was a son of Tangiia's (or Uenga's), but Maori tradition shows that he was a son of Uenga's. According to the table above, Kupe flourished a generation before the fleet came, which is quite near enough to allow of the time being right, and as Rarotongans do not trace descent from Poutama, he is not mentioned in their history. It is, however, very questionable if the Kupe, who is accredited with exploring the coasts of New Zealand, is the same man who gave Turi directions where to find a home at Patea, West Coast, New Zealand.

As has been said, Tangiia's father was Kaungaki, but he was adopted by Pou-vananga-roa-ki-Iva, as was his cousin Tu-tapu—afterwards called Tu-tapu-aru-roa, or "Tu-tapu, the constant pursuer," in consequence of his relentless pursuit of Tangiia-nui. Pou-vananga-roa distributed to his children their various occupations and lands; Maono was appointed an *ariki* of Tahiti, as was Tu-tapu of Iva, whilst Tangiia was made a *tavana* or subordinate chief. In consequence of this distribution, great trouble arose; in the end Tangiia drove out his foster-brother Maono, and seized the government, in which he appears to have given great offence to his relatives, and which led to further trouble. Next arose a serious quarrel between Tangiia and Tu-tapu as to the ownership of Vai-iria, a stream in Tahiti (Mataiea District, south coast), which led to a war between Te Tua-ki-taa-roa

and Te Tua-ki-taa-poto—"the first meaning Avaiki, the second Tahiti and Iva"—no doubt names for the two elements of the population, *i.e.,* the first referring to the later migration there, the other to the previous one. Other troubles arose about the tribute to these several chiefs, such as the turtle, the shark, and other things which were sacred to the *arikis* in former times—indeed down to the introduction of Christianity.

Tu-tapu after this returns to his own country, Iva, whilst Tangiia proceeds on a voyage to Mauke Island of the Cook Group, where he marries two girls named Pua-tara and Moe-tuma. His love song to these ladies is preserved. After a time Tangiia returns to Tahiti, where he quarrels with his sister Rakanui about some insignia pertaining to the rank of *ariki,* and she leaves in disgust and settles in Uaine (Huahine Island) with her husband, Maa. Tangiia now seeks diversion from the troubles of government by a long voyage to Avaiki (Savāi'i) in Samoa, and visits many other islands on the voyage, and he remained away some years. On his return to Tahiti he sends Tino-rere to fetch his children from Mauke. Shortly after Tino-rere's return, Tu-tapu arrives from Iva with a war-fleet to demand of Tangiia their father's weapon, "Te Amio-enua," and the right to the *rara-roroa,* and the *rara-kuru* (man and breadfruit tribute), both perquisites of an *ariki.* But Tangiia

refuses, though after some time he concedes the *rara-kuru,* thinking to appease his cousin, but to no avail. It is clear from the fact of Tangiia's sons having attained to manhood at this time, that he had been absent in the Western Pacific for many years.

Great preparations were now made for war. Tangiia collects his people, the clans of Te Kaki-poto, Te Atu-taka-poto, Te Kopa, Te Tavake-moe-rangi, Te Tavake-oraurau, Te Neke, Te Ataata-a-pua, Te Tata-vere-moe-papa and the Manaune, some of whom are mentioned as small people; they were probably Melanesian slaves brought from Western Polynesia as crews to work the canoe. The two parties now separate, Tu-tapu retiring to Tau-tira, at the east end of Tahiti-iti, whilst Tangiia and his army occupied Puna auia (a stream and district, west side of Tahiti). War now commences; as the history says, "Tahiti is filled with the Ivans" (Tu-tapu's people), and they press Tangiia so sorely that he orders his vessel to be launched and all his valuables placed on board, including his gods Tonga-iti, Rongo, Tane, Rua-nuku, Tu and Tangaroa, besides his seat named "Kai-auunga," in case of defeat in the coming strife. Two other gods were taken by Tu-tapu—*viz.,* Rongo-ma-Uenga and Maru-mamao. When this had been done, Tangiia again fought Tu-tapu in the mountains, where the former's two sons, Pou-te-anua-nua and Motoro are killed, the former by the woods (or

grass?) being set on fire. And now Tangiia was driven into the sea by his enemies, whilst the country-side was a mass of smoke and flame. Then comes in a little bit of the marvellous: "The goddess Taakura looking down upon the fire fiercely burning, descries Motoro in the midst of it. She spoke to the god Tangaroa saying, 'Alas!' this *ariki*; he will be burnt by the fire!' Said Tangaroa to her, 'What is to be done? Thou art a god, he is a man!' 'Never mind. I shall go down and fetch my husband.' Then Tangaroa uttered his command, saying, 'Haste thee to Retu. Let him give thee a tempest to extinguish the fire!' Then was given to her a fierce wind that extinguished the fire, and in this storm she descended and carried away Motoro to Auāu (Mangaia) with the aid of Te Muu and Te Pepe.'"*

When Tangiia, in parting, looking back upon the land, his heart was full of grief for his home about to be abandoned for ever, and thus he sang his farewell lament.

Great is my love for my own dear land—
For Tahiti that I'm leaving.
Great is my love for my sacred temple—
For Pure-ora that I'm leaving.
Great is my love for my drinking spring—
For Vai-kura-a-mata, that I am leaving;
For Vai-te-pia, that I am leaving;
For my own old homes, for Puna-auia.
For Papa-ete, that I am leaving;

*Mangaian legends relate that this Motoro, son of Tangiia was one of their ancestors.

For my bathing streams, for Vai-iria,
For my loved mountains, for Ti-kura-marumaru,
For Ao-rangi,* that I am leaving;
And alas! for my beloved children,
For Pou-te-anuanua and Motoro now dead.
Alas, my grief! my beloved children,
My children! O! my grief.
O Pou-te-anuanua. Alas! Alas!
O Motoro! Alas! O Motoro!

Before finally departing from his home, Tangiia despatched Tuiti and Te Nukua-ki-roto to fetch certain things from the *marae,* used by them in connection with their gods; but instead of doing this they stole Tu-tapu's god Rongo-ma-Uenga, and took it on board the vessel. This was the cause that induced Tu-tapu to continue his long pursuit of Tangiia, and which gave him his name, "The relentless pursuer."

The vessel's course was now directed to the west from Tahiti, to many islands, until she arrived even at Avaiki-te-varinga, Tangiia all the while, with excessive grief, lamenting his sons. Tamarua-pai† came from Tahiti with Tangiia, and he was appointed navigator of the vessel. As they approached Avaiki, they heard the beating of drums and the blowing of

*Here we recognise the same name as that of Mount Cook, in New Zealand. It is a very high mountain in Tahiti.

†Tamarua-pai (or as he is often called, Pai), was a chief from Pape-uriri and Ati-maono, who also lived at Pape-ete, places in Tahiti. There is an "opening" at Moorea Island named Utu-kura, made by Pai. This "opening" (*puta*) is probably the hole in Mou'a-puta, said by the Tahitians to have been made by Pai's spear, who cast it from Tautira, some 35 miles away!

trumpets, denoting the performance of a great ceremony and feast. Pai is now sent ashore to interview the gods, or as it probably may be interpreted, the priests of their ancient gods, and finally Tangiia himself has an interview,

Ancient Tahitian mourning costumes.

and explains his troubles. After much discussion it is agreed to help Tangiia, and Tonga-iti says to him—"There's a land named Tumu-te-varovaro (ancient name of Rarotonga); thither shalt thou go, and there end thy days. Then was given to him great *mana*, equal to that of the gods, so that in the future he should always conquer; and they delivered to him numerous

gods (idols) and their accessories, which he now possessed for the first time, together with directions as to a number of ceremonies, dances, and songs, and new customs, which were afterwards introduced into Rarotonga.

Apparently also some people joined Tangiia here, on purpose to carry out the directions that had been given in connection with these new matters. Taote and Mata-iri-o-puna were appointed to the charge of the trumpets and drums, Tavake-orau to the direction of the ceremonial dances, whilst Te Avaro from Rangiraro, was charged with other trumpets on board the vessel. Moo-kura, a son of Tu-te-rangimarama also appears to have joined Tangiia, and was afterwards made a guardian of one of the *maraes* of Rarotonga.

This Avaiki-te-varinga, and the story connected with it is somewhat difficult to understand, but it is clearly some place very distant, and probably in Indonesia,* for on their return, they first called in at Uea or Wallis Island, from where, after much drum beating, etc., they proceeded on to Upōlu, but had to return to Uea for one of their trumpets left behind. Here they were joined by Katu, and thence came back to Upōlu, where more ceremonies were performed, and a song composed, alluding to their adventures.

*I have already shown the probability of Avaiki-te-varinga being Java, or, it may be that the name is here used for some of the neighbouring islands, Ceram, or the Celebes.

From Kupolu (Upōlu) Tangiia sailed back to Iiti (Fiji), where they fell in with Iro, a very noted ancestor of Rarotongans and Maoris, called by the latter Whiro. After some time, Tangiia asks Iro "Where is thy son? I want him as an *ariki* for my people, my sons being dead." "He is away at Rapa, where I have settled him." Said Tangiia, "I will go after him and fetch him as an *ariki* for my people," to which Iro consented. This son of Iro's was Tai-te-ariki, whose name is still borne by Maoris now living in New Zealand, and who are descended from him. It was from Tai-te-ariki also, that the long line of *arikis* who have ruled over the Ngati-Tangiia tribe of Rarotonga down to my friend Pa-ariki, the late worthy chief of Nga-Tangiia, are descended. Maori and Rarotongan history and chants are full of the adventures of this ancestor of theirs—Iro, or Whiro —who is also known as an ancestor of the Tahitians.

Tangiia now started from Fiji on his long voyage to Rapa-nui or Easter Island to fetch Tai-te-ariki, a voyage dead against the trade wind, and 4,200 miles in length. No doubt he called at many islands on the way, but they are not mentioned. There he found Tai-te-ariki, who, at that time, was called Taputapu-atea, and after explaining his mission, the young chief joined Tangiia, and the vessel proceeded to the west, to Moorea island near Tahiti, where Iro was to have met them, but had not arrived.

Leaving a message for Iro, Tangiia sailed on to the next island Uaine (Huahine) where an interview takes place with Maa—the husband of Rakanui, who was Tangiia's sister, and who, it will be remembered, had left Tahiti in disgust at Tangiia's conduct. Some high words follow but in the end peace prevails, and Tangiia relates his misfortunes—the disastrous war with Tu-tapu, the death of his children, and his voyage to Avaiki-te-varinga, with the treasures he had brought back from there. Then said Rakanui, "Let us both remain in this land of Uaine; thou shalt dwell on one side, I on the other." "Not so, I cannot remain; I must go. There is an island named Tumu-te-varo-varo (Rarotonga) which was disclosed to me by Tonga-iti." "What land is that?" "What land, indeed! I have never seen it. I shall go there to live and die, and set up Iro's son as an *ariki* over my people." He then names the clans over which Tai-te-ariki is to rule, including the Manaune and others already referred to, and the sister then gives Tai-te-ariki a new name, Te-ariki-upoko-tini (the many-headed *ariki*), referring doubtless to the many clans he was to govern.

Rakanui now presented Tangiia with another canoe "Kaioi," which his navigator, Pai, makes use of to convert their own vessel into a *vaka-purua* or double canoe, thus seeming to indicate that Tangiia's long voyage had been made in a single canoe, or perhaps a canoe with outrigger

only. The sister now agrees to join her forces to those of her brother, and they sing a species of song together to ascertain whether salvation or death shall be their fate.

Whilst these transactions are proceeding, there suddenly arrives on the scene the dreaded Tu-tapu, and Tangiia flees to Porapora, an island about 50 miles to the west. Here he proceeds to perform the ceremonies connected with the appointment of Tai-te-ariki as an *ariki*. But, as the story goes, "they had not girded him with the scarlet belt" (*maro-ura*) when Tu-tapu overtakes them, and Tangiia flees to Rangi-atea (Ra'i-atea) which island is some 20 miles south of Porapora. Here the two war-like canoes come close together, and Tu-tapu shouts out, "Deliver up my gods! return my gods you took from Tahiti!" Whilst they sail along together, bandying words, the dark tropical night sets in with its usual suddenness, and Tangiia sheering off, parts company in the dark.

Tangiia—presumably fearing that his proposed project of settling on Rarotonga is known to Tu-tapu—steers before the trade wind and quickly makes the Fiji group again. Here a different disposition of his forces is made and the double canoe fitted up, the lesser canoe for the women and children, the *katea* or larger canoe for the men. His people are numbered and found to be *e rua rau,* four hundred. All this is illustrated by song as usual. Apparently this careful disposition of force was in anticipation of meeting the redoubtable Tu-tapu.

The preparations completed, the expedition left Fiji again, going *ki runga,* or to windward to visit the many islands there, and increase the reputation of their vessel towards the sun rising. As they drew near to Maketu (now called Maukė, one of the Cook Group) they beheld a sail. On Tuiti and Nukua-ki-roto climbing up the mast, they discovered that it was the canoe of Karika, from Samoa, of which they informed Tangiia, saying: "Here is Te Tai-tonga;* thou art as one dead!" Said Tangiia, "Has he many men?" "A great many; they are numerous!" "Ah! what is to be done?" "What indeed? thou must deliver up to him the *rangi-ei,* the plume of rank upon thy head" (give up the supremacy to Karika). The vessels now draw together and Karika comes on board that of Tangiia, who has been careful to send his warriors below, keeping only the slaves, children, and the decrepit on deck, so that Karika might not know his strength. Then follows a scene in which Tangiia attempts to present Karika with the emblems of chieftainship, in which he is prevented by the faithful Pai, the navigator of the vessel. A struggle ensues in which Tangiia, in urging on his people, used the word *takitumu,* which thenceforth becomes the name of his vessel. Karika seems to have got the worst of it, and his canoe is towed away to Maiao, and to Taanga (Taha'a,

*From vol. iv., p. 107, of the Journal of the Polynesian Society, this appears to be Karika's second name.

near Ra'iatea) where Mokoroa-ki-aitu, Karika's daughter, becomes Tangiia's wife, to cement the peace then made.

Tangiia now learns from Karika the directions for finding Rarotonga, after which the two vessels separate—Karika going his way, whilst Tangiia sails south; but misses his mark and reaches a part of the ocean where great currents meet, and Tangiia concludes he has reached the "mountainous waves" of the south referred to in tradition, in which he is supported by finding the sea quite cold. Putting about ship he sails north, and finally sights the east coast of Rarotonga, and lands at Nga-tangiia, where like a good and true Polynesian, he at once proceeds to build a *marae* for his gods at Te Miromiro, close to the present church there.

Next follows a long history of the building of various *maraes* and *koutu,* in honour of various gods, to each of which he appointed guardians, whose names are given, many of which are borne by the *mataiapos*, or chiefs of the islands at this day. Most of these *maraes* are said to have been named after others in Avaiki (probably the eastern group) and other places, whilst others were named after incidents in Tangiia's eventful life. The *maraes* are so numerous that it must have taken a very long time to build them all. Considering that they had also to build houses, plant food, etc., it seems probable that some few years were thus occupied.

Whilst building the *marae* named Angiangi, and before a guardian had been appointed, there arrived another expedition under Naea, in his canoe "Atea-roa."* "They were seven in number," which I think refers to the number of the people, which of course means fourteen, according to the Polynesian method of counting —not a very large expedition. It has been stated that the New Zealand canoes came with the *tere* of Naea, but in this I think there is a mistake. Had they done so, the writer of the Rarotongan Native History would not fail to have mentioned the fact. Only one canoe is named above, and that is not known to New Zealand tradition. This Naea and his party are said to have come from a place called Arava, in the Paumotu Group; they belonged to the Tonga-iti clan.

It was with this expedition also that Te Aia family came to Rarotonga, from Avaiki (Western Pacific) originally, but subsequently from Tahiti. Te Aia's son was Tui-au-o-Otu, whose son was Te Ariki-na-vao-roa-i-te-tautua-mai-o-te-rangi, who married Marama-nui-o-Otu, a child of Iro's.

Just before the arrival of Naea, another party of emigrants arrived from Upōlu, under

*It might have been thought perhaps, that Atea-roa is a corruption of the name, Aotea, or Aotea-roa, one of the celebrated canoes of the Maori migration. But I think not, for reasons which will be given when we deal with that subject.

Tui-kava, who settled at Paparangi and Turangi.

After these events, Tangiia met with Tane-korea, his wife, and his two daughters, both of whom he added to the considerable number of wives he already had. These people, as has been shown, were some of the *tangata-uenua,* and descendants of the migration to Rarotonga in 875.

Some time after, how long is not known, came Karika, with whom Tangiia had the interview as related some pages back, and who told him the direction in which to find Rarotonga, in fulfilment of his promise. He landed at a place called E, and built there a *koro* or fort, which he named Are-au. The story then quotes an old song to show that Karika was a cannibal. Karika found his own daughter, Mokoroa-ki-aitu, and her husband, Tangiia, living at Avarua, the principal village of Rarotonga.

They had not been settled very long in Rarotonga before a fleet was seen in the offing, which turned out to be the "relentless pursuer" Tu-tapu, still following up his old enemy Tangiia. Fighting commenced in which both Tangiia and Karika joined with their people; but there was a cessation after a time, and—evidently thinking that he would be worsted in the end, notwithstanding the great powers that had been given to him during his visit to Avaiki-te-varinga—Tangiia despatched his sister Rakanui and his foster-brother Keu right away

to Tahiti, to his old father Pou-vananga-roa for help. The old man was blind and helpless, but he proceeded with his divination to ascertain the issue of the conflict. Then unfortunately comes a break in the story; but we next find the two messengers, after burying their father, starting back for Rarotonga with some potent charms, etc. They call in at Mangaia, and then reach the place they started from, where the war still continues.

But I do not propose to detail this lengthy war; it belongs to the history of Rarotonga alone. It resulted in the death of Tu-tapu, and a great number of his warriors from Iva. During the progress of it, the supremacy was delivered over by Tangiia to Karika, and it has descended to his living representative, Queen Makēa-Takau, the chief of the Government of the Cook Islands, at the present day.

Tangiia's counsel to his people at the end of this war is worthy of record. "His words to the body of Priests and to all Ngati-Tangiia (his tribe) were: 'Let man be sacred; let man-slaying cease; the land must be divided out among the chiefs, from end to end; let the people increase and fill the land.' Another law he laid down: 'Any expediton that arrives here in peace, let them land. Any that comes with uplifted weapon strike off their heads with the clubs.' These were the words spoken in those days." I am afraid the subsequent history of the people proves that Tangiia's words of wisdom were often disregarded.

The part of the history that follows on these events is very interesting, as showing how Tangiia instituted the various ceremonies and customs he had learnt on his long voyage to Avaiki-te-varinga, but this is not the place to describe them.

In Tangiia's old age, Karika urged him to join in a voyage to Iva to help obtain a celebrated canoe named "Pata"; but he declined, though some of his people went with Karika, who left his son Puta-i-te-tai in Tangiia's care. The Iva people laid a plot to kill Ngati-Tangiia, but they being warned in time escaped back to Rarotonga, whilst Karika was killed.

The history of Karika, mentioned above, has been given in the "Journal of the Polynesian Society," vol. i., p. 70. The events therein related regarding the settlement of Rarotonga will not be found to agree exactly with those which are given in the Native History from which this is compiled, but after all, the differences are not great; it is known that Karika came from Samoa, and in the records of the Manu'a island of that group, his name is preserved, under the form of 'Ali'a, who, according to traditions collected by the Rev. J. Powell, edited by Dr. Fraser, and published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society" of New South Wales, vol. for 1891, p. 138, lived about twenty-five generations, or reigns ago. The table of kings, not being wholly a genealogy, cannot be compared with those of Rarotonga,

but still, the Manu'a tables, such as they are ought not to differ greatly. We find from Rarotonga history that Karika flourished twenty-six generations ago, and that there are twenty-three names on the Manu'a list—sufficiently near to allow of their being the same individual.

The Rarotonga accounts, however, make Karika's father and mother to have been named Eaa and Ueuenuku; the Manu'a (Samoan) accounts give them as Le Lolonga and Auialuma. The ancestors preceding Le Lolonga are also quite different to those in the Rarotonga account ("Journal of the Polynesian Society," vol. 1, p. 70). This leads me to infer the probability of 'Ali'a having been interpolated on the Manu'a line, being possibly a nephew or other relative of Le Lolonga's, and that 'Ali'a (or Karika) was really one of the Maori-Rarotongans, and not a true Samoan. He was probably a member of one of the families who at that time occupied the coast lands of a considerable part of Samoa. The Rarotonga account of his doings in Samoa seems rather to point to this.

It has been shown on a former page that the period of Karika and Tangiia (*circa* 1250) is that also of the first Malietoa in Samoa, in whose time the Samoans appear to have first got the upper hand of the so-called Tonga-Fijians, or in other words, the Maori-Rarotongans. It seems to me that this is the probable reason of Karika's leaving Samoa, his relationship to the

Rarotonga people who were then living in Samoa and Fiji, made it advisable for him to leave, together with others. It is stated that he made eight different voyages between Rarotonga and Avaiki, which would here include both Samoa and Fiji, and for part of this time he was engaged in wars in Avaiki and other islands in the neighbourhood. The name of his double-canoe was Te-au-ki-Iti and Te-au-ki-Tonga.

From this period (1250) the Rarotonga history does not mention a single voyage back to Samoa or Fiji, though some are noted to the nearer group of Tahiti, etc. So far as we can judge, communication with Western Polynesia ceased, and the reason I suggest is, that the Samoans had expelled the Rarotongan-Maori branch of the race from their group. As for Fiji, it is probable that some of the latter people still remained there, and that they, in the course of the 600 years that have since elapsed, have played an important part in modifying the original Melanesian Fijians, so that they are now a cross between the two races.

In the time of Tangiia, as has been mentioned, there lived in Avaiki, which is one of the places of that name in Indonesia, a man of the same name as the great ancestor of the Rarotongans, Tu-te-rangi-marama. His home was on a sacred mountain that had four names, none of them important for our purposes. He had a son named Moo-kura and another named

Tu-ariki, both contemporaries of Tangiia's. When Tangiia built the *marae* called Kura-akaangi in Rarotonga, he and Tamarua appointed Moo-kura as guardian. The son of the

A Samoan girl. Polynesian type.

latter was Tama-kake-tua-ariki, who lived in the Arorangi district of Rarotonga, at Akaoa. It is related of this man that he made a voyage to Tuanaki, the lost island south of Rarotonga; and before he left he warned his wives—Toko

and Uti-rei—to remove from the shore, for on the seventh night after his departure an affliction would fall on the place. This came in the shape of a great wave, and those who heeded not the warning were swept away, the rest saving themselves by flight to the mountains. This rising of the waves is probably "Te tai o Uenuku" referred to later on.

Tangiia's son was Motoro, his son was Uenuku-rakeiora, his son was Uenuku-ki-aitu, his son was Ruatapu, renowned in Maori history. This brings us to the year 1350, when the fleet on its way to New Zealand called in at Rarotonga.

In reference to Uenuku-rakeiora mentioned above, who is known to Maori history, it is noted that Tangiia's son Motoro married two wives—Pua-ara-nui and Te Vaa-rangi—by each of whom he had a son. Pua-ara-nui's son was concealed by the priest Etu-roa, so Vaa-rangi's son (the younger) Uenuka-rakeiora came to be an *ariki.* When this was discovered afterwards, the elder son Uenuku-tapu was made a *mataiapo,* or lesser chief, and his descendants are also living in Rarotonga now, as I gather from the Native History. It can be shown that some of the descendants of Uenuku-rakeiora came to New Zealand, his grandson Paikea, Ruatapu's brother amongst others. It was Uenuka-rakeiora's son Uenuku (by the Rarotongan history called Uenuku-te-aitu) who was the great chief and priest in Hawaiki according

to Maori story, just before the *heke* to New Zealand. From this we may gather that, if born in Rarotonga, he did not live all his life there, for we have—from Maori history—several accounts of his visits to Rarotonga to make war on Tawheta or Wheta, when the incidents known as Te Ra-to-rua and Te Moana-waipu occurred. Rarotonga is mentioned in these Maori legends as the island Uenuku went to in order to avenge his children's death. It is not clear from Maori history whether this Uenuku is the same as the man with a similar name who lived in Ra'iatea when Turi of the Aotea canoe left there, but probability points to their being the same.

Uenuku-rakeiora's wife and his mother both came from Iva (Marquesas) so says the story; but it is a question if Iva here, does not mean the part of Ra'iatea occupied by Te Hiva clan.

CHAPTER VII.

TAHITIAN ORIGIN OF THE MAORIS.

HAVING sketched out the History of the Polynesian race down to about the year 1350, and traced their various migrations, from far Hawaiki-nui to Eastern Polynesia—Tahiti and Rarotonga—it remains to be shown where was the immediate "Whence of the Maoris."

In the circular issued by the writer in 1891, asking those interested in Polynesian matters to join in forming a Society—having for its objects the preservation of the records of the Polynesian race—a hope was expressed that such a Society would tend to draw the members together, and that, by their means, many obscure points in connection with the history of the race would be cleared up and valuable matter placed on record. A glance through the first six volumes of Transactions published up to 1897, will show that a considerable meed of success had attended the operations of the Society, but much still remained to be done. The information thus received from all parts of the Pacific seemed to indicate that there were fields still open in which much might be gathered; and at the same time certain questions arose out of the

contributions to that Journal that seemed to render enquiry on the spot desirable by some one having a fair knowledge of what had already been accumulated. Many of the questions awaiting solution were of great importance in connection with the history of the Polynesian people, and of special interest more particularly, perhaps, to those who dwelt in New Zealand and who were seeking to learn the origin of the Maoris. Notwithstanding the many attempts that had been made up to that time, nothing certain had been settled as to the immediate whence of the people, though many indications had been given, and as it turns out, often given truly.

It seemed, therefore, to the writer that the attempt to clear up this and other questions once for all, was worth making. Time was pressing —the old men of the Polynesian race from whom their history could be obtained were fast passing away—civilization was fast extinguishing what little remained of ancient lore—the people themselves were dying out before the incoming white man—and, to all appearances, there would soon be nothing left but regrets over lost opportunities.

Feelings of this nature were borne in strongly on the writer, and it was felt the attempt to clear up some of the outstanding questions must be made. It was with this object then that I undertook a six months' voyage in the Pacific in 1897; the results, in brief form, are shown in what precedes this, and in what follows.

It is doubtless due to the prominence of two names (in the Samoan, Savāi'i, and Hawaiian, Hawaii) that so many writers have supposed one or the other of these to be the Hawaiki from whence the Maoris came to New Zealand. But now we know that all the Tahiti Group was called Hawaiki also, the other evidence of their "whence" falls naturally into its place, and indicates this latter Hawaiki as their former home—the immediate home from whence they came to New Zealand. To the Rarotongans, all the Western Groups including Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji are known as Hawaiki-raro,* or leeward Hawaiki, whilst Tahiti and the adjoining groups are called Hawaiki-runga, or windward Hawaiki. We also find that the Pau-motu islanders used formerly to apply the name Hawaiki to Tahiti itself, showing that probably at the time the Maoris left it bore that name. Again, the ancient name for New Zealand—with which they were well acquainted traditionally—was Hawaiki-tautau, as well as the Maori name Aotea-roa. *Tautau* is the Maori word *tahutahu,* to burn, or burning, and the name was probably given to New Zealand on account of its active volcanoes. It is over twenty-five years since I came to the conclusion that Eastern Polynesia must be searched for this particular Hawaiki; but, with the exception

*The terms *raro,* below, and *runga,* above, are always applied by Eastern Polynesians to the directions to which, and from which, the trade wind blows, *i.e., raro* is the west, *runga* the east.

of Judge J. A. Wilson, no one appears to have followed in the same lines as myself. Mr. Wilson truly indicates in his interesting little book* that the Maoris came from Rarotonga, but as we shall see further on, this was only a stopping-place on the voyage.

Amongst other names of ancient places mentioned in the Maori traditions as one of those from which they came hither, is Tawhiti-nui. It is frequently mentioned in the Maori traditions; sometimes it is Tawhiti-nui-a-Rua, the latter word clearly being a man's name. In one of the accounts of Nga-toro-i-rangi's return from New Zealand to their ancient home in the Pacific, to avenge the insult offered to him, the place he went to is called Tawhiti; in another, Tawhiti-nui-a-Te-Tua, where again the last two words represent a man's name. In another account still, it is stated that Te Tua was the chief of the land to which the above expedition went.

Now, I was told in Tahiti that Te Tua is the name of a high chief, and has been so from time immemorial. The name Nga-toro-i-rangi, the celebrated priest of Te Arawa canoe, is known in Tahiti as 'A-toro-i-ra'i (they do not pronounce the *ng*), but it is there the name of a god, and of a place. Possibly this celebrated priest was deified there. At the same time the

*"Sketches of Ancient Maori Life and History," by J. A. Wilson.

two names may have nothing to do with one another.

In one of the Maori "Uenuku" legends is mentioned the name of a mountain (Arowhena) which was somewhere in Hawaiki. Now, Orofena or Orohena is the highest mountain in Tahiti. I have shown that this same Uenuku lived (part of his life at any rate) in Rarotonga, and that voyages between there and Tahiti were frequent, and that he made voyages from Rarotonga to the country where this mountain was, though the name of the island is not given—Hawaiki being understood.

Pari-nui-te-ra is the name of the place to which some of the Maori traditions say their ancestors returned from New Zealand to fetch the *kumara*. I gathered from an old man on Moorea Island that there is such a place, near Papa-ete, on the north shore of Tahiti.

In addition we have this very important fact, that on the arrival in this country of Te Arawa canoe the crew called their *tuahu* or altar, which they set up at Maketu, Bay of Plenty, Ahu-rei, as did the crew of the Tainui canoe, in remembrance of their ancient home in Tahiti, which name, there is little doubt, was called after Te Fana-i-Ahurai, on the west coast of Tahiti.

I was told by Mr. Tati Salmon, of Tahiti, that expeditions were known to have left the west coast of Tahiti in former days, to find homes for themselves elsewhere, but the particulars have not been preserved. The name of only one

canoe as having arrived there from distant parts was remembered; this was Manu'a-tere, which was that of Te Atonga previously mentioned.

The only two places where the native name of New Zealand (Aotea-roa) is known, so far as I can learn, are Tahiti—where it is mentioned in an old chant—and at Rarotonga, as will be shown. Taken altogether, the evidence which has now been adduced (besides other that might be quoted) seems conclusive that Tawhiti of the Maoris is Tahiti, and that their Hawaiki is Hawaiki-runga, which includes all the groups around Tahiti.

We next come to another island of the Society Group, the name of which has been retained in Maori traditions. This is Ra'i-atea (in Maori Rangiatea), one of the poetical names of which is Havai'i-mata-pee-e-moe-te-Hiva. It is also called Ioretea Uri-e-tea and Havai'i. About four miles to the north is another lovely island, with indented coast line, down to which the mountains fall in abrupt and wooded slopes. This is Taha'a, a poetical name for which is Taha'a-nui-marae-atea, and one of whose ancient names was Uporu. The Rarotongan name for Ra'iatea is Rangiatea, and that of Taha'a is Taanga (in Maori, Tahanga). Some twenty miles to the north-west of Taha'a is Porapora, the ancient name of which was Vavau, probably the Wawau-atea of the Maoris. It has a very high and fantastic peak on it. To the east of Ra'iatea, twenty-two miles distant, is

Huahine, a double island, an old name of which was Atiapi'i. Some eleven and a-half miles to the west of Porapora is Maiao-iti, the former name of which was Tapuae-manu. It is a high island, but of no great size.

This group of islands is separated from Tahiti by the Sea of Marama, named after one of the Tahitian ancestors, and which name I believe is referred to in the following lines from an ancient Maori lament which is full of old Hawaiki names, and was composed by one of Turi's descendants eleven generations ago:—

> **Tikina atu ra nga tai o Marama,**
> **I whanake i te Waima-tuhirangi.**

in which the Sea of Marama is mentioned.

Of the islands mentioned above, I think Ra'iatea is clearly the Rangiatea of the Maori traditions preserved by the Taranaki and West Coast people, which they say was the name of Turi's home, and where also tradition says was the great *marae* "at Hawaiki, belonging to the warrior chiefs—to the great chiefs of the sacred cult, used for their invocations in time of war. That *marae* was a temple, and the name included both temple and *marae*. It was where the deliberations of the people were held, and was a place of great *mana*. Hence in our saying—*He kakano i ruiruia mai i Rangiatea*—('We are) seed scattered hither from Rangiatea.' The Church at Otaki, West Coast, Wellington, was named Rangiatea by Te Rauparaha, in memory of our island home in Hawaiki, for it was a

sacred island to our ancestors." This refers no doubt to the large house, built by Tu-te-rangi-atea, referred to under the heading of "The Polynesians as Navigators," for which see *ante*.

At Ra'iatea was the most sacred and important *marae* in the Central Pacific. It was situated at Opoa (called Poa in Rarotonga), at Taputapu-atea, and from which place stones were taken to use in the foundation of many other *maraes* in Tahiti, etc.; as, for instance, the stone pillar called Tura'a-marafea at Papetoai, Moorea, and that taken by Fanunū to found the *marae* of To'oarai, Papara, Tahiti, near which was afterwards built that of Mahai-atea, which has already been described, and illustrated.

There are other things which seem to connect Ra'iatea with Turi's ancient home, and one of which I think will be seen from the following quotation from an old Maori song:—

Tenei ano nga whakatauki o mua—
Toia e Rongorongo "Aotea," ka tere ki te moana,
Ko te hara ki Awarua i whiti mai ai i Hawaiki.

These are the sayings of ancient times—
'Twas Rongorongo launched "Aotea," when she floated on the sea,
Because of the sin at Awarua they crossed over from Hawaiki.

Now, Avarua is the opening in the reef a little to the north of Opoa, and by which the steamers now enter the lagoon of Ra'iatea from the east, and the "sin at Avarua," as described

in the Aotea legends was the cause of the crew of that vessel migrating to New Zealand. Rongorongo was Turi's wife, and Aotea his canoe.

In Maori story, only one of the other islands referred to above is mentioned, viz., Vavau or Porapora, which I take to be Wawau-atea connected with the stories of Whiro, of whom Tahitian, Maori, and Rarotongan traditions are full, especially in connection with Ra'iatea and Taha'a. His Tahitian name is Hiro, but on the east coast of Tahiti, at Hitia'a (Maori Whitianga), I found they pronounced his name Firo. Wawau, as has been shown, is a very old Polynesian name, which, like Hawaiki, has been applied to several places in the Pacific, in memory of a more ancient Wawau.

Of Turi, the great ancestor of Taranaki, Ngati-Ruanui, Nga-Rauru and the Whanganui tribes of the West Coast, North Island, New Zealand, and commander of the Aotea canoe, it is well known that he arrived here about twenty-two generations ago at the same epoch as the fleet, of which, however, *the Aotea did not form a part.* This would be about 1350. Turi—I believe the same as the Maori ancestor—is well known in Tahiti, but up to the present, a promised genealogical table from him to people living, has not arrived. Therefore the evidence is incomplete. The following is what I learnt about him; and though the stories are much mixed up with the marvellous, as so often

occurs with distinguished Polynesian heroes, the historical part is easily sifted: Turi was a great chief of Tahiti, and born at Mahaena, on the north-east coast of that island, where he grew up to manhood. He there married his first wife, Hina-rau-re'a, of whom he was very fond, but very jealous. On one occasion, before going inland to procure *feis* (wild bananas) he enclosed his wife's house in a hedge of prickly thorns so that no one might go near her. Presently Turi's two sisters appeared and declared it was a shame so pretty a woman should thus be shut out from all enjoyment, and finally persuaded Hina to go with them to the beach to indulge in the favourite pastime of *fa'ahe'e-'aru* (*whakahekengaru* in Maori) or surf-riding. Hina was a novice at this amusement, but Turi's sisters were adepts. On coming ashore, Hina trod on a *he* (Maori *whe*) or caterpillar, "which had been endowed with supernatural powers by Turi, for the purpose of watching Hina, and to inform Turi of any infringement of his orders that took place during his absence." On Turi's return he was duly informed of Hina's disobedience, at which he was greatly enraged, so much so that he decided to leave Mahaena. He gathered together his *feia* (people), and leaving Hina-rau-re'a, sailed away to Ra'iatea where many adventures befell him. After a time he left Ra'iatea with his people and sailed away no one knows whither.

Another account is, that he left Tahiti for Ra'iatea, where, being a man of a very amorous nature he got into frequent trouble. This is confirmed by Maori traditions, which say that the trouble he got into in consequence, led to his fleeing from Tahiti to Ra'iatea. Finally a great quarrel arose between him and the Ra'iatea people, when Turi departed with his people and never came back, nor does any one know where he went.

The most complete account I got of Turi, however, was at Moorea, from a native woman, who is the granddaughter of one of the old Ra'iatea Tahuas, (or Tohungas, in Maori) and moreover a woman of great intelligence and considerable knowledge. According to her, Turi was born at Fa'aroa (Maori, Whangaroa) in Ra'iatea; he was the eldest of his father's family; after him came Puī, then a girl, and lastly another girl named Nona-i-mata'i. Fa'aroa is a deep inlet, on the shores of which is the ancient *marae* of Opoa. Turi owned a celebrated trumpet named Ro'o-puna, and also two canoes the names of which are not remembered. Manava-pau was the name of his spring of water.* He had a *marae* of his own, near Te-umu-ape, at Fa'aroa; it was cut out of the

*Can this be the origin of the name of Manawa-pou, the stream not far from Turi's New Zealand home? The Taranaki people are much given to using "o" instead of "a."

solid earth in the shape of a canoe. Near the *marae* was a *taro* patch, in which some of the women had been on one occasion washing *taro*. Turi was angry at this, for some reason not stated, and forbade them to do so again, and for their transgression ordered that "the cocks must not crow, the dogs must not bark, there must be no waves in the sea, no man may go afishing (*huti i'a*)" and the people were ordered to fill his house with *ruru* (rolls) of mats, and cloth made of *anu-ora'a* (bark of the banyan tree). Turi's wife set to work and filled four houses instead of one. The wife's name is forgotten, but she came from 'Otipūa at Ra'iatea. Her grandfather's name was Toto (or Hoto, it is not certain which—according to Maori story Toto was Turi's father-in-law) who was a great warrior, and through his conquests had acquired a great deal of land. There are four of Turi's direct descendants still living at Ra'iatea. Like all great chiefs Turi had a *mou'a* or mountain, it is called Fane-ufi. His *tahua* (floor), place for meetings, was named Te-umu-'ape (*ape* is the giant *taro*). Some say he died at Te-umu-'ape, but most people say he sailed away from Ra'iatea with his wife, children, and *feia* (people). Ti'etau was the name of a woman in Turi's time, and Tŏĭ is an ancestor of the Ra'iatea people. The name is still common at Huahine Island. Tŏĭ-ato was a contemporary of Turi's. His *mata'eina'a* (Rarotonga *matakeinanga*), or tribe, or clan,

was named Vaitoa.* His *pu* (trumpet), his *patapata* (flute, played with the mouth), his *vivo* (flute, played with the nose), and his *pahu* (drum) "may still be heard, but one man only has heard the accompanying *upaupa* (dance and song) distinctly, and it demented him. The song is only heard in cold weather when the people stay in their houses." When Turi left Ra'iatea he went across the *moana-uriuri* (the deep sea) and never returned in the flesh, neither does anyone know where he went, but his spirit returned in former times to trouble the people.

Other accounts I heard agreed in the main with the above. It is a very remarkable thing—explain it as you may—that the Maori accounts are very persistent in saying that Turi's spirit, after his death, returned to Hawaiki. One Maori story says that Turi was living at his home, Matangi-rei, on the banks of the Patea River, when the news came of the death of his son Turanga, killed in battle at Te Ahu-o-Turanga (named after him), Manawatu Gorge, and that the old man was sorely affected thereby. He went out of his house, and was never seen again —hence the Maori belief in his return to Hawaiki.

The above notes, taken altogether, seem to identify Turi, of the Aotea migration with Turi, of Ra'iatea; the fact of Toto, his father-in-law,

*This is no doubt the Ngati-Waitoa tribe said by East Coast Maori tradition to have been dwelling in Hawaiki when they left there *circa* 1350.

being mentioned, and that of one of the name of Toi, being his contemporary, both by Ra'iatea and Maori story, also point in the same direction.

It is needless to point out how frequently the name Rarotonga occurs in Maori History, especially in the old chants, but there is nothing in them that indicates any lengthened sojourn in that island. Many places in New Zealand have been named after the old Rarotonga, as also after the old Hawaiki, but none of the first, so far as I am aware, have been given to the landing places of the canoes of the fleet; as has been done in the case of Hawaiki; such, for instance, as the final resting place of the Tainui canoe at Kawhia, and the ancient *tuahu* where Te Arawa landed at Maketu. This name appears to have been brought with the fleet and applied to the landing places of Te Arawa and Tainui canoes in fond remembrance of older places bearing that name. We find a Maketu in Rarotonga, in Atiu, in Mauke, in the Pau-motu Group, and in Mitiaro, though none of these islands are mentioned in Maori History.

Of the other islands in the Cook group, only that of Mangaia appears to be remembered in Maori History, for I take Ma-mangaia-tua to be the same name. It is also, I think, known to the Maoris under its older name of A'ua'u, or Ahuahu, which seems probable from the incident in Maori story known as "*Te huri pure i ata,*"

when Uenuku's son Ruatapu drowned the younger chieftains of his father's clan on account of the insult offered to him. In this story Paikea is said to have been the only one who, by swimming, reached the shore, and he landed on Ahuahu Island, which, in process of time came to be identified with Ahuahu or Great Mercury Island in the Bay of Plenty. As will be shown later on, both Uenuku and Ruatapu lived, for part of their lives at any rate, in Rarotonga, and the descendants of the latter are there still. The above incident occurred, according to Maori History, either in the same generation as the migration to New Zealand, or in that preceding it. Another ancient name of Mangaia was Manitia; this has not been preserved by the Maoris, but it is known both to Tahitians and the Morioris of the Chatham Islands.

As there is no other island in the Pacific named Rarotonga, we must assume that this is the island known to Maori tradition. It is true there is a *marae* at Manu'a Island, Samoa, called Rarotonga, that formerly belonged to the Karika family of Rarotonga, but it certainly is not the one known to Maori History. The name Rarotonga is said to have been given to the island by Karika as he first sighted it on coming from the north-east, because it was to leeward (*raro*) and towards the south (*tonga*). The former names were Tumu-te-varovaro and Nuku-tere, the first of which has now become its poetical name.

The Rarotongan Account of the Maori Migration.

But any doubt as to whether this island is that known in Maori History will be set at rest by what follows. It is now several years ago since Mr. J. T. Large, who had been on a visit to Rarotonga, informed me that the names of the fleet of canoes which came to New Zealand in about 1350 were known to the Rarotongans. At that time I was under the belief that these names might have been learned from some Maori visitor to Rarotonga, of which the earliest on record is that of a few men who had been taken by the notorious Goodenough from New Zealand in the year 1820 or 1821. This Goodenough, who was well known on the northern coasts of New Zealand about that time as an unscrupulous trader, of which there were so many in those times, made a voyage to the Pacific, and there discovered the lovely island of Rarotonga; but his conduct is said to have been so atrocious in his dealings with the people that he kept his discovery a secret, and thereby lost the honour of being recognised as its discoverer. It was the Rev. J. Williams who first made known the existence of Rarotonga, where he arrived from Ra'iatea in a small schooner in April or May, 1823. Williams brought back to Rarotonga from Aitutaki a woman named Tapairu, who was a relative of the Makea

Maori Chief, Polynesian type.

family. She had been taken away by Good-enough (or Kurunaki as the Rarotongans called him; his Maori name was Kurunape) and she helped materially in the introduction of the Gospel.

But the visit of Kurunaki was not the first occasion on which the Rarotongans became acquainted with the white man. Pa-ariki told me that many years before Kurunaki appeared, a large ship was seen in the offing, and one man was daring enough to go on board amongst the *atua,* or gods, as they supposed the crew to be. On his return he described the many wonders he had seen, and amongst other things he said they had groves of breadfruit trees growing there, and streams of running water. The captain's name was Makore. There can be little doubt as to what ship this was. It will be remembered that the unfortunate Bligh in the "*Bounty*" had been sent to Tahiti to convey the breadfruit tree to the West Indies, and no doubt it was the "*Bounty*" that first discovered Rarotonga. The name of the captain, Makore, which no doubt is intended for McCoy, one of the ringleaders in the mutiny, points to the fact that the vessel sighted Rarotonga after the mutiny itself, or in May, 1788.

To return to the New Zealand canoes. Mr. Large states that "the migration of Naea came from Aviki to Iva (supposed to be Nukahiva, in the Marquesas) and from Iva to Tahiti, and thence to Rarotonga. This was before the time

of Tangiia and Karika." This latter statement is, however, I think, a mistake, for the migration of Naea arrived in Rarotonga late in the life of Tangiia—it confuses the two men of the name of Naea, the first of whom did visit—perhaps live for a time, in Iva. Mr. Large adds: The following are the names of the canoes of Naea and his *tere*:—Tainui, Turoa was captain; Tokomaru, Te Arava, Kura-aupo, Mata-tua, Takitumu, Okotura, Muri-enua, Arorangi, Rangiatea, Ngaio, Tumu-enua, and Mata-o-te-toa; Tamarua being captain of Tumu-enua, and Te Aia captain of Mata-o-te-toa.

"The two last named were called the fighting canoes, and the first eight went on to New Zealand, the remainder staying at Rarotonga."

Naturally I made it my business to enquire into this story whilst at Rarotonga, and soon found that Te Aia and others knew of the New Zealand canoes, but I was directed to Tamarua-Orometua as an old man who could give me particulars. With Pa-ariki and Mr. H. Nicholas, I went to visit the old man, who was living at a little village about a mile south of Nga-tangiia, the principal home of the Ngati-tangiia tribe, on the east side of the island. We found Tamarua reclining on a mat in his neat little house, which, like all others, was shaded by groves of breadfruit, coco-nut, and banana trees. He was a pleasant and intelligent looking man, evidently of great age, but unfortunately very deaf. With the aid of his granddaughter's

husband, however, we soon got him to understand that we wanted to ask him about old times. In answer to the question as to whether he had ever heard of any migrations leaving Rarotonga in former times, he thought a bit, then his face brightened up and he said, "Yes; I have heard of several migrations from Rarotonga. Once there sailed from here a fleet composed of several canoes, the names of which were (after thinking a little) Te Arava, Kura-aupo, Mata-atua, Toko-maru, Tainui, and Taki-tumu. Tainui and Toko-maru sailed from Wai-toko, at Arorangi (Wai-toko is an opening in the reef at Arorangi, west side of Rarotonga), and all the others from Wai-te-kura (a stream not far from Arorangi). They all went away together in one fleet. The captain of Tainui was named Oturoa,* and his *nganga*, or profession, was the *karakia* (meaning he was a priest), but I do not remember the names of any of the other people. Taki-tumu was the first canoe to sail to New Zealand. It afterwards came back to Rarotonga. The other canoes did not return, only one came back, viz., Taki-tumu. This island had been settled, at the time the fleet left, by Tangiia and his descendants. Taki-tumu was the first canoe of Tangiia's *tere* that came to this island. It came to Vai-kokopu, near Nga-tangiia. I do not know the name of Horo-uta, nor of Ngatoro-i-rangi, nor of Tama-te-kapua. I know the name

*According to Maori tradition, Hotu-roa was captain of the Tainui, his brother Hotu-nui was the priest.

of Mata-atua, but I do not know the names of Toroa, nor of Muriwai, but there is a clan called Mata-atua living at Arorangi. I do not know the name of Muri-enua canoe, but that is a name given to this district of Nga-tangiia. A canoe named Raupo also left this island in former days, but she went in another direction, to Tuanaki. Kaka-tu-ariki was the captain of Raupo. His friend, Tiare, stole ten bundles of *ataroroi* (coco-nuts cooked in a certain fashion), hence he left for Tuanaki.

"A man named Ava formerly came to this country; he landed at Poko-inu (west of Avarua). He came from Iva. It was he who brought the *kokopu* (a fresh-water fish) here first, hence the name Vai-kokopu near here, of which the old name was Avana-nui, a name given to it by Ată. The migrations to this land occurred in this order: Tangaroa, Aio, Tangiia —Ava came after Tangiia.*

"The fleet of canoes I have mentioned left here to go in search of another country for their crews, as Rarotonga was fully occupied when they came, and they also went to look for the *toka-matie*. There were two kinds of stone used in making *tokis* (adzes) in ancient times, the *toka-matie* and the *karā*. The *toka-matie* was

*There is a Maori tradition that Awa-morehurehu went from New Zealand to Hawaiki. He lived two generations before the fleet arrived here in 1350. Little is known of the story of this Awa, however. It was in answer to my question as to this Awa that the old man replied as above. The date agrees well with that of Awa-morehurehu.

taken to New Zealand and the *kārā* left here. The *toka-matie* belonged to Ina. It was Ngaue who hid the *toka-matie* so that Ina should not find it. Ngaue went to New Zealand to hide the *toka-matie.* When he was at New Zealand, he saw some great birds there as high as the wall-plate of this house (about ten feet), they are called the Moa. Ngaue brought back part of those birds preserved in an *ipu* (calabash) as well as the *toka-matie.* These were the two things he brought back. It was after Ngaue returned that the fleet of canoes sailed for New Zealand, but I don't know how long after. It was because of the voyage of Ngaue to New Zealand that the fleet went there. Ngaue called the *toka-matie, "e ika no te moana"**—a fish of the sea. I think that some of the canoes were built here, but I am not sure.

"I do not know the name of Kupe, nor of Aotea canoe, nor of Turi, as forming part of the fleet. Aotea-roa is the name, I know, for New Zealand. I heard of the doings of some of the people who went to New Zealand. Te Arava canoe arrived there first and Tainui second, and the crew of the latter on their arrival found the crew of Te Arava asleep, so they took their anchor and passed the cable underneath that of Te Arava. When the crew of Te Arava woke up next morning and on seeing the cable of Tainui underneath theirs, they were annoyed and claimed that they had arrived first. "No"

*The New Zealand greenstone is always said to be a fish.

—said the people of Tainui, "see the position of our anchor." I don't know how they settled the dispute. This is the same kind of discussion as occurred when Toutika and Tonga-iti arrived at this island. Taki-tumu canoe came back to this island after going to New Zealand, and did not return. Perhaps it was through her crew that our ancestors learnt of the dispute between Te Arava and Tainui crews.

"There was a canoe named Papaka-tere that came here in ancient times from Mata-kura: she went away no one knows where.

"Yes, I know the name Mamari as that of a canoe which left these shores long, long ago. She went to some place in the direction of Tuanaki, and did not come back, so far as I ever heard. I know nothing more about her.

"I learnt what I have told you from my father and grandfather, and they learnt it from their *tupunas* (ancestors). Everybody knew about these canoes when I was young. It was before the Gospel was introduced I learnt this. At that time (1823) I had attended ten *takuruas* (annual feasts at the presenting of the first fruits to the *ariki*) when Viliamu (Williams) sent the teachers here (one of whom was Pepehia of Tahiti); the feasts were held at Arai-te-tonga. I was about this high (showing the height of a boy of 12 or 14) when I first went to the *tukuruas*. (In this Pa-ariki agreed; no boy younger than 12 to 15 would be allowed to attend.)"

Such is the substance of what I learned from old Tamarua Orometua. It was pleasant to see the bright intelligent look that came over his face when he heard the questions asked—they seemed to awake old memories of things long forgotten, and he would then give without hesitation a lot of detail which I could not take down. Every now and then he was at a loss for a name, but after looking down with serious furrowed brow for a time, he would glance quickly up, with a bright look of triumph on his face, as if pleased at his success in recalling the name. Had he not been so very deaf, much more information could doubtless have been got from him. I was most particular in getting his age; and it will be seen that, if he was twelve years old when he attended the first *takurua,* and that he was at ten of them before 1823, he would be about ninety-six when we visited him, and therefore a full-grown man, hearing and learning the ancient lore of his ancestors, before the disturbing influences of the Gospel obliterated them. He is a scion of one of the most ancient families of Polynesia, as may be seen in the history of the Tamarua family, a name they have borne continuously for some thirty generations—one of his ancestors was captain of the Tumu-enua canoe, referred to in Mr. Large's account a few pages back.

With reference to the island called Tuanaki, I learnt that this was supposed to be due south

of Rarotonga, and in former times the Rarotongans used to visit it. It took them two days and a night to reach there in their canoes. There is no such island at the present time, but the Haymet Shoal exists in latitude 27° 30′, which is about 360 miles south of Rarotonga, a distance their canoes would sail over in about the time mentioned.* The *toka-matie* puzzled us all at first, for the translation is "grass-stone," but it soon dawned on me, and was confirmed by Tamarua, that they used the word *matie* to describe the green colour of the stone brought back by Ngaue. The expression is therefore an exact translation of our word "greenstone," or the *pounamu*† of the Maori. When I asked the old man if he had ever seen the greenstone, he said he had not, and on my showing him a piece I had with me, he exclaimed, "Ah! It is true then what our ancestors told us of the *toka-matie*—there is such a stone." He was very pleased at this, but his pleasure scarcely equalled mine in finding that the Rarotongans had a traditional knowledge of the

*Judge Wilson told me that a trading vessel from Auckland used, at one time in the forties, to visit an island, the exact position of which was kept secret. But on a subsequent visit the island had disappeared. Col. Gudgeon, in answer to my request that he would make enquiries as to any further information the Rarotongans might have about Mr. Wilson's story, says, "Certainly there is a remembrance of the Tuanaki people and island, and old John Mana-a-rangi had seen some of the people. I do not think the island disappeared more than 70 years ago."

†*Namu* is an old Tahitian word meaning "green."

greenstone, and the fact of their giving it a different name showed that they did not derive their knowledge from the Maoris.

To Maori scholars versed in the traditional history of the people, it is unnecessary to say that this Rarotongan story is almost the exact counterpart of New Zealand history. To others, not familiar with Maori traditions, it may be necessary to point out very briefly that these histories say, that Ngahue (Ngaue) came to New Zealand from Hawaiki before the fleet in consequence of disputes between him and Hine-tu-a-hoanga (Ina) as to the respective merits of the greenstone, or nephrite, and the *tuhua,* or volcanic glass; that Ngahue found the Moa (dinornis) in this country, and that he took some of the preserved flesh of the bird back with him, together with a block of greenstone, out of which were made the axes used in building the canoes of the fleet, the exact names of which, according to Maori tradition were given by Tamarua. That the fleet arrived here (about the year 1350); that there was a dispute between the crews of Tainui and Te Arawa as to which arrived first, on account of those of Tainui having placed their cable under that of Te Arawa; that Taki-tumu canoe returned to Hawaiki to fetch the *kumara* tuber, and that she came back to New Zealand with her valuable freight. This last is the only point on which the two stories differ; Tamarua holds that this vessel never returned to New Zealand, but

remained at Rarotonga. The Mamari canoe was that of the northern tribes of New Zealand, and though she arrived here at no great distance in time from the fleet, she did not form part of it. The want of knowledge on Tamarua's part of the Aotea canoe is easily explained, for she did not come with the fleet, but arrived a little time before it,* having come from Ra'iatea, the strong probability of which has been shown. I may add that the island at which the Aotea called on her way to New Zealand, named by the Maoris, Rangitahua (or Motiwhawha, or Kotiwhatiwha) is known to Rarotongan tradition as Rangitaua, but no indications are given as to its position. I identify it with Sunday Island, of the Kermadec Group, where old Polynesian stone axes have been found.

As to where the New Zealand fleet came from prior to its stay in Rarotonga, I much regret that the excitement caused by finding such a complete knowledge of New Zealand history in Rarotonga, caused me to forget to ask Tamarua's opinion on the matter; but from the information obtained by Mr. Large, and what was told me by the late Te Pou-o-te-rangi, of Rarotonga, they came from Tahiti, though perhaps not from the Marquesas, as Mr. Large learnt. Whilst there can be no reasonable doubt that in those days, the Maoris and Rarotongans were perfectly familiar with the Marquesas (Iva, or in Maori Hiwa), we cannot

*I have the evidence of this, but it is too long to quote.

neglect the important statement of the Maoris themselves that they came from Tawhiti, or Tahiti, especially when taken in conjunction with the Tahitian names of the west coast of that island, preserved by the crews of the canoes of 1350 and applied to their *tuāhus*, or altars at the places they first landed. That Tahiti and the neighbouring islands was the home of the Maoris some generations before their migration has been proved by the identity of ancestors.

As to the time of departure of the fleet from Rarotonga to New Zealand, the information obtained by Mr. Large shows that the canoes arrived in Rarotonga with those of Naea. If this is so, then the Maoris must have stayed in Rarotonga for at least three generations, for Naea arrived there in the latter days of Tangiia. This is most unlikely, however, because there is nothing in Maori history to confirm it, and, moreover, had there been such a prolonged stay, the names of Maori ancestors immediately preceding the *heke,* or migration, would certainly be shown on some of the numerous genealogical tables obtained by me in Rarotonga. But there are no such names. The only Maori ancestors in those tables (of this period) are the four last shown in the margin.

Tangiia
Motoro
Uenuku-rakeiora
Uenuku-te-aitu
Ruatapu

According to Maori History, Uenuku and Ruatapu lived in the generation that the fleet left Hawaiki; and it was not long before the

departure that the incident known as "*Te huri-pure-i-ata*" occurred, when a number of young chiefs were drowned through the action of Ruatapu, his brother Paikea alone escaping, to become afterwards a famous ancestor of the Maoris.* It will be remembered that Ruatapu's parting words to Paikea were, that in the eighth month he would visit his father's people, and that they were all to flee to Hikurangi to save themselves from the inundation which Ruatapu promised. This flood in Maori History is known as "Te tai o Ruatapu"; in Rarotonga it is known as "Te tai o Uenuku"; and local tradition says the people saved themselves by fleeing to Mount Ikurangi, a graceful mountain just behind Avarua, Rarotonga. Whether the scene of this inundation is really connected with Rarotongan Ikurangi, or some other (according to Rarotonga story this mountain was called after another of the same name in Tahiti), is doubtful. As to the nature of the inundation, it was probably an earthquake wave. I myself saw the effect of the wave of 1868, where, after traversing the whole breadth of the Pacific from South America, it struck the Chatham Islands with such force as to leave whaleboats thirty feet above tide level.

That the above Uenuku is identical with the Maori Uenuku is proved by his father and his

*Col. Gudgeon is strongly of opinion that Paikea was an aboriginal of New Zealand, not one of this family. But he admits that Kahutia-te-rangi, which was, according to most accounts, another name for Paikea, did migrate here.

son having identical names in both Maori and Rarotonga history. Moreover, the Rarotonga native history says, "*Ia Uenuku-te-aitu, i tona tuatau kua tupu te ngaru.*" "In the time of Uenuku-te-aitu, rose up the waves," which seems to refer to the predicted inundation.

We will now see how the genealogical accounts of Maori and Rarotongan agree as to the period of Ruatapu. On the particular line from which the fragment in the margin has been taken, Ruatapu is the eighteenth back from Queen Makēa now living. But, if we take the mean of a considerable number of lines to fix the date of Tangiia we shall find he lived twenty-six generations ago. Counting down from him, we shall find that Ruatapu flourished twenty-two generations ago. The mean of a large number of Maorī genealogies back from 1900 to the date of migration to New Zealand is twenty-two generations, and it is known that Uenuku and Ruatapu lived in the generation that the *heke* left Hawaiki. Hence we see the records of the two people agree remarkably well. They are in fact history not myth.

Motoro, mentioned in the marginal genealogy, was sent by his father Tangiia to become high priest of the god Rongo at Mangaia, as mentioned by Dr. Wyatt Gill in "Myths and Songs," and he is mentioned as a Maori ancestor also.

It was about this period of Rarotongan history, that flourished two priests named Paoa-uri and Paoa-tea who voyaged to Ra'iatea to

present a big drum called Tangimoana to the god Oro, at Opoa, where they were both killed, the full story of which is known to Tahitians.

The above is perhaps as accordant an account of events in Polynesian History as will ever be obtained. As this book will be read by many who are not familiar with Maori History, it is necessary to say that the migration to New Zealand herein described is by no means the earliest one of which we have records, on the contrary, it was the last of several, but at the same time by far the most important.

It seems probable, that between the date of Tangiia's settlement on Rarotonga in 1250, and the arrival of the fleet in New Zealand in 1350, occurred a number of solitary voyages to New Zealand under Tu-moana, Paoa, Kupe, Ngahue, and several others, the exact dates of which are very difficult to fix. Many of these people returned to Eastern Polynesia, leaving some portion of their crews in New Zealand. After 1350 we have the record of only one voyage back to Hawaiki, and that was in the same generation that the fleet arrived. Since that time down to the arrival of Captain Cook in 1769, the Maoris, like the Hawaiians, remained isolated from the rest of the world.

It seems then from what has been said above, and from other evidence that might be adduced, that the Maori migration which came to New Zealand, *circa* 1350, in the canoes Tainui, Te

Arawa, Mata-atua, Toko-maru, Taki-tumu, and Kura-haupo, came from the west side of Tahiti, and that they called in at Rarotonga on the way. On their further course to the S.W. they met with bad weather, the remembrance of which is retained in the Arawa Traditions, where the descent of the canoe to Te Waha-o-te-Parata is no doubt the description of a tempest given in the allegorical form so common to all Polynesian legends. The Taki-tumu account of the starvation they experienced, shows what straits they were put to. Their canoes all made the land in the neighbourhood of the East Cape, and from there coasted along to the places their crews finally settled in—Mata-atua, at Whakatane, Te Arawa at Maketu (both places in the Bay of Plenty), Tainui was hauled over the isthmus at Otahuhu, near Auckland, and then proceeded by the west coast to Kawhia where they settled; Tokomaru probably went round the North Cape, landing her crew at Mohakatino, or its neighbourhood, north of Taranaki; Taki-tumu went on to the South Island, and was finally wrecked off Moeraki in Otago, or, as Mr. Cowan says, at or near Waiau in Southland; whilst Kura-haupo, after its wreck at Rangitahua, appears to have made the land near the North Cape, where some of its crew remained, whilst others settled in Cook's Strait, near Mana-watu. It is said that she was finally wrecked on the west coast of the South Island.

The Aotea canoe, sailing from Ra'iatea, *did not call at Rarotonga,* but came on to Rangitahua (or Sunday Island), and had apparently fallen in with the Kura-haupo on the way, or—as some evidence seems to indicate—this island may have been appointed a rendezvous for the whole fleet. Here Kura-haupo* was wrecked and many of her crew came on in the Mata-atua to New Zealand, but the probability is that the canoe itself was subsequently repaired, and finally reached New Zealand, as has just been stated above.

The above is the only instance recorded of a fleet arriving in New Zealand, but there are numerous references to other canoes which came previously—such as Mamari, the canoe of the northern tribe of Nga-Puhi; the Mahuhu, the canoe of the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Kaipara, which probably arrived in the times of Toi, or about the year 1150; the Horouta, Paoa's canoe, which came to the east coast, somewhere about 1200, besides many others.

Many of the Maori genealogies go back to long before the date of any of the above canoes, and some of them appear to refer to ancestors who have never lived outside New Zealand, but there

*Later and reliable information received since the second edition of this work was published, shows that Kura-haupo first came to New Zealand under the chief Whatonga. She must have returned to Hawaiki and then come back again with the fleet, and on this second voyage she was wrecked, as described above.

are now no means of checking them, and therefore it is impossible to say when New Zealand was first peopled. From these tables, it may be inferred that one Ti-wakawaka was living in the Bay of Plenty, when he received a visit from a Polynesian navigator named Maku, who however, did not remain in the country, not liking it. Doubtless, the contrast, in the matter of food, with his own prolific isles, was not to his taste. The probable date of Ti-wakawaka is the year A.D. 850. It is quite likely it was first colonised in the times of Ui-te-rangiora, who flourished in Fiji, *circa* A.D. 650, and in whose time the Pacific was nearly all explored by him, his contemporaries, and immediate descendants.

It is from the chiefs of the canoes that formed the fleet of 1350 that Maori aristocracy loves to trace descent; the descent from the old *tangata-whenua*, or previous migrations, is with many tribes ignored or made little of. There is plenty of evidence that this last migration was composed of people more advanced in ideas and of far greater warlike powers than the original inhabitants; and it is clear that within a few generations they had practically conquered and absorbed the others, often enslaving them; and indeed it is stated that it was due to the large number of women taken captive, that the Maoris so quickly increased in numbers. It is stated in Hamiora Pio's MSS. that the *tangata-whenua* were a peaceful people, not like the ferocious cannibals of the fleet. Indeed, it is probable

that these latter people brought cannibalism with them. In the mountainous country of the Ure-wera, tribes are to be seen the purest descendants of the older inhabitants, who, although very much mixed with the later migrations, still show some difference in appearance that approximates them more to the Morioris of the Chatham Islands, who are no doubt the same people.

These ancient people were, however, the same Polynesian race; there is no sign of any previous Papuan or Melanesian people ever having inhabited New Zealand, or indeed any part of the Pacific now occupied by the Polynesians. At the same time, the description of these people leads us to infer that they were to a certain extent mixed with the Melanesian. This shows, as do other things, that they came here from the Western Pacific—not from Tahiti, as did the last migration. The few slight indications that some writers have fancied indicated a previous race are all referable to contact of the Polynesians with Papuans or Melanesians in their migrations to the Fiji and other Melanesian Islands.

If what has been said about the connection between Maori and Rarotongan ancestors is true, it follows that the Moriori people of the Chatham Islands formed part of the same branch of the race, together with the Hawaiians. The Morioris have a good many words in common with the Rarotongans, which the Maoris

have not retained in their dialect. The Hawaiians and Morioris are the only two branches of the race—so far as I am aware—that use the causitive form of the verb in *hoko* (Hawaiian *ho'o*). Of the principal dialects of Polynesia, the following are the most alike in the order given:—Maori (and Moriori), Rarotongan, Tahitian, and Hawaiian.

The Moriori traditions are very precise in many respects. They say that they arrived at the Chatham Islands (Re-kohu) from Hawaiki; but as they have retained the common name of New Zealand, Aotea-roa, in their traditions, besides another old name of the North Island, Huku-rangi, and moreover knew the old name of the north end of the South Island, Aropaoa—at one time a name for the whole of the South Island—there seems little doubt that they went to the Chathams from New Zealand, the more so, as we now know that this country was also called Hawaiki, *i.e.*, Hawaiki-tautau. They are acquainted also traditionally with the names of several New Zealand trees not known elsewhere. The two lines of genealogies we have of this people, show that the migration to the Chatham Islands took place, by one line twenty-nine, by the other thirty-one, or a mean of thirty generations back from 1900.

On these Moriori tables are shown three well-known ancestors of the *tangata whenua* of New Zealand: Toi, Rauru, and Whatonga, as father,

son, and grandson, just in the same order on both Maori and Moriori tables; but in the latter they are included amongst the gods, or deified ancestors perhaps. I cannot help thinking that these people are misplaced on the Moriori lines, and that this is due to the important position they held in New Zealand as living immediately before the Morioris left this country. According to the New Zealand tables (printed p. 182 of vol. iv., "Journal of the Polynesian Society") Toi lived, by the mean of a large number of lines, thirty-one generations ago, and by Moriori tradition, that people left through wars in the time of Rauru, his son; and as they do not know any Maori ancestors later than Whatonga, Rauru's son, I think we may safely assume that the migration took place twenty-nine generations ago, according to the Maori lines, or thirty by those of the Morioris. This would be about the year 1175.

For the use of Polynesian scholars, I add a table of events and dates, derived from these Rarotongan and other sources. They are of course only approximate, but will serve the purpose of a summary of the history of the people, on which others may build, in the meantime.

Approximate Dates in Polynesian History derived from Rarotongan Records, etc.

	B.C.
Te Nga-taito-ariki and Tu-te-rangi-marama rule over Atia-te-varinga-nui (India) ..	450
Te Kura-amoo migrates to Avaiki-te-varinga Java	65
	A.D.
Vai-takere lives in Avaiki-te-varinga; discovery of breadfruit	50
Period of Wakea (Fornander)	390
Tu-tarangi is living in Fiji; first mention of Samoa	450
Period of Tinirau	500
Period of Renga-ariki	575
Tu-tonga-kai-a-Iti lives in Tonga-nui; others in Samoa	600
Period of Ui-te-rangiora, the navigator; Antarctic voyages	650
Hawaii first settled	650
Marquesas probably settled	675
Period of Tawhaki	700
Maku visits New Zealand	850
Tahiti was inhabited at this time, but not then settled for the first time, probably ..	850
Period of Apakura	875
Rarotonga first colonised by Apopo and Ata-i-te-kura	875
Period of Tuna-ariki and Tu-ei-puku in Fiji ..	875
Te Ara-tanga-nuku and commencement of second period of voyages	950
Tu-nui lives at Tahiti	950
Paumotu colonized	1000
Samoan migration to Tonga-nui	1050

	A.D.
Period of Onokura and of Naea, who visits Vaii (Hawaii)	1100
Voyages to Hawaii from the south (Fornander)	1150
Time of Toi-ka-rakau, New Zealand ..	1150
Moriori migration to the Chatham Islands from New Zealand	1175
Period of Pau-matua voyages between Tahiti and Hawaii	1225
Period of Tangii-nui, Iro, Tutapu, and second settlement of Rarotonga	1250
Awa-morehurehu, of New Zealand, goes to Rarotonga	1300
Voyages from the south to Hawaii cease (Fornander)	1325
Sundry voyages to New Zealand under Paoa, Tumoana, Kupe, Ngahue, etc. .. 1250 to	1325
New Zealand settled by "The Fleet" ..	1350

Otira ua.

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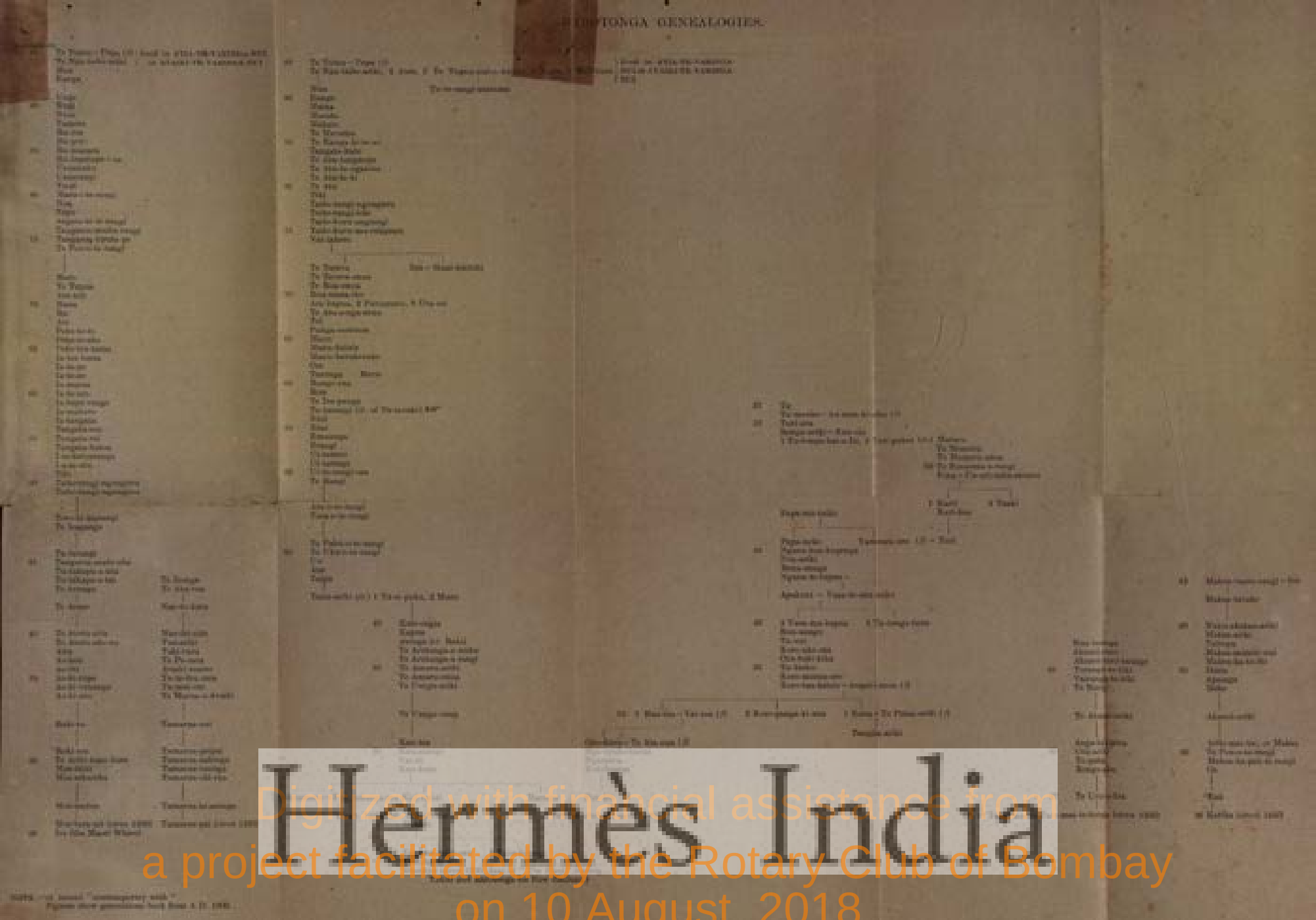

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